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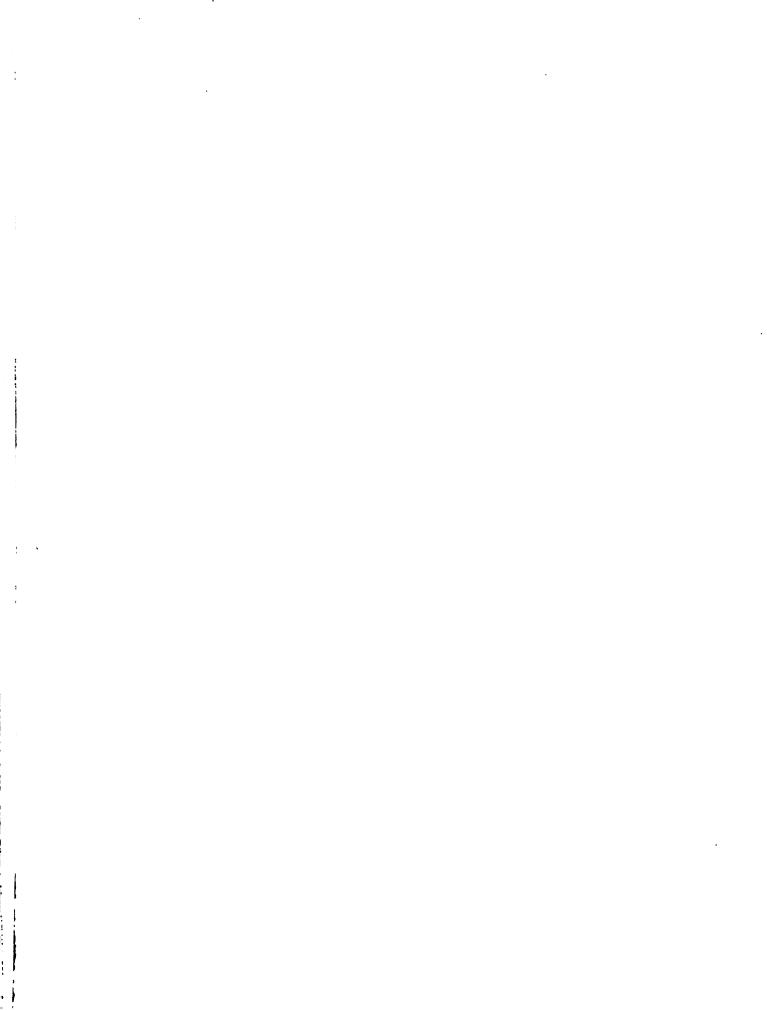
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ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA.



VOLUME II.



ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA:

OR,

Miscellaneous Tracts,

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

OF

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

VOL. II.



NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:

Printed by T. and L. Podgson, Anion-Street.

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DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

In binding the Parts into a volume, place the plates in Part I. according to the directions given in that Part.

In Part II., cancel pages 89, 90, 91, 92, and replace them with the half-sheet, signature N., given in Part III.

In the Appendix, cancel page 19. Also cancel all the Titles and Contents given with Parts 1. and II., and replace them with those given in Part III.

THE CODE OF STATUTES, ordained on Feb. 6, 1813, for the government of this Society, have, from time to time, since that period, undergone alterations; all of which (excepting one) that were made on and before the Anniversary Meeting, in January, 1822, are printed at the beginning of the first volume of the *Transactions*. The following are now printed for the first time:—

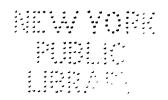
Jan. 7, 1818.—Resolved,—"That such muniments and records as are illustrative of the *History of Northumberland*, and other adjacent counties, and which shall be transmitted to the Society and deemed worthy of publication by the Council, be printed in the Society's *Transactions*."

Jan. 1, 1823.—Resolved,—"That the original fourth Statute do stand so far as the words—'below the number of'; and that the following addition be made thereto instead of the remainder of such original fourth Statute:—'Six, and so remain for twelve calendar months then next following, the funds and property of the Society shall be delivered unto and become the property of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne, if that Society be then in existence; and should that Society not be in existence, that then the same be delivered to, and become the property of, the Mayor and Corporation of Newcastle upon Tyne."

RESOLVED,—"That one hundred Members having now been elected to this Society, any new Member to be elected will only be entitled to such publications as may be printed after his election; but may purchase any of the previous publications at the same price as the same are furnished to the booksellers."

Jan. 5, 1825.—RESOLVED,—"That after the next Anniversary Meeting the Members dine together, and that the Committee for the year take the management of providing for such dinner."

Jan. 4, 1826.—RESOLVED,—" That no Member shall be entitled to take books out of the Society's Library, until his subscription in advance for the current year be paid; and if any Member shall suffer his subscription to remain unpaid for three successive years, his name, at the end of three months, shall be erased from



the list of Members in the books of the Society; and he shall be required to deliver up his diploma; and further, that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the usual place of residence of every Member of this Society."

- Jan. 3, 1827.—RESOLVED,—"That the Monthly Meetings of the Society be advertised to be held at 7 o'clock instead of 6 o'clock in the evening."
- Jan. 2, 1828.—RESOLVED,—"That in order to secure (as was the intention of the Society), that all books belonging to the Society shall be in the Library during the Monthly Meetings, a fine of one shilling for each book not brought in at such meetings be imposed upon those Members who hold such books at the time, and a further fine of sixpence each week afterwards, and that for the purpose of examination all books be returned to the Library on the Wednesday preceding the Anniversary, to remain until after the meeting of that day, under a fine of two shillings and sixpence."

RESOLVED also,—"That not more than two volumes of any work be allowed to go to any Member at one time; and that the Abbey Churches, Vertue's Plates, the Vetusta Monumenta, Gregson's Proofs for the History of Lancashire, and all manuscripts, do not circulate without leave of the Council, obtained at a meeting."

- Jan. 6, 1830.—Resolved,—"That the number of Ordinary Members be extended from one hundred to one hundred and fifty:—That the Council have power to mitigate or remit fines in particular cases; that all books be returned to the library a fortnight previous to every anniversary meeting, under a penalty of two shillings and sixpence; and that no books be taken out during that fortnight, and that the rule as to fines for not returning books generally be altered, so that the fine will attach if the books are not returned by half-past six o'clock on the nights of meeting.
- Oct. 2, 1831.—At a meeting this evening, it was Proposed,—That notice be given that the Anniversary Meeting be in future held on the first Wednesday in February instead of the first Wednesday in January, which was afterwards moved and carried.

Several communications, which have been made to the Society during the course of the last year, could not be included in this volume for want of certain notes and illustrations, with which it was thought necessary that they should be accompanied.



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ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

I. A Letter to James Losh, Esq. one of the Vice-Presidents of the Antiquarian Society, of Newcastle upon Tyne, containing an Inquiry into the Age of the Porch of St. Margaret's Church, York, by J. MacGregor, Esq.

SIR.

In addressing you, and, through you, a Society, already distinguished for the learning and talents of its Members, I am aware, that an ample apology is due from one, who is, as yet, a stranger in this walk of literature, and, consequently, but ill qualified to do justice to the subject he has undertaken. Having no pretensions, then, to the skill of an Antiquary, it may be proper to state, that I became acquainted with the present, while in pursuit of another, object of study, upon which it promised to throw some light. For this purpose, it was necessary to ascertain its history, and, with this view, the principal works on British Antiquities were consulted, but without effect. I was thus reduced to the necessity of endeavouring to supply this deficiency myself the best way I could, in order to reap the expected and desired advantage. I had not, however, proceeded far in my new labour, until I perceived, that, from a collateral, it claimed to be considered as a primary object of research; in consequence of which it was reserved for a future and more particular consideration, the result of which I have now the honour to lay before you.

Its claims must be considered important indeed, if they be really such as they appear to me—no less than an antiquity of sixteen centuries, vol. II.

and a pre-eminence in beauty over all the specimens of British Roman art, which have come down to our times.

To vindicate such pretensions was certainly worth any man's while, to whom they appeared well founded. Success would secure to him the merit of having filled up a desideratum in the history of British monuments, and the attempt would, at all events, have the effect of bringing into more prominent notice a beautiful relic of past ages, which has hitherto languished in comparative obscurity.

But I must confess that I had another motive to encourage me in the prosecution of this subject, which was the opportunity it afforded of completing the history of the Signs of the Zodiac, the first part of which I had the honour of submitting to another learned Society, in which you hold an equally distinguished rank.

In discussions like the present, the professed object of investigation frequently derives additional importance, from its furnishing a centre for adapting and connecting scattered fragments of antiquity, which united may diffuse light and order through the most abstruse subjects of ancient history. Accordingly, availing myself of the matter brought forward in the progress of research, I have the satisfaction of having been able to accommodate it to the elucidation of two important points of inquiry at the same time, and thus to give to the following pages all the interest in my power.

In many parts notes are added, where the points under immediate consideration appeared to require further illustration, or suggested matter of consequence, which could neither, with propriety, be introduced into the text, nor omitted altogether.

Upon the whole, I trust the intention will redeem the imperfections of a performance, which, although but a sketch, I am sensible, requires the strongest recommendation to the indulgence of a Society for whose judgment I entertain the highest respect.

Individually, I beg to assure you, that I am, Sir, With great esteem,

Your very obedient Servant, J. MACGREGOR.

Newcastle upon Tyne, 1825.

St. Margaret's Church is situated on the north side of Walmgate, in the city of York, behind a line of mean houses, which occupy a space nearly equi-distant between Foss-Bridge and Walmgate-Bar. The ancient porch, attached to this very humble and comparatively modern building, is composed of several retiring arches, which, as they recede, contract in height and span, from about twelve feet in height, and nine in width, (a rough estimate of the size of the exterior semicircle,) to the dimensions of a common door. The arches are supported by corresponding pillars, from whose capitals they spring, which, together with the faces of the arches, are beautifully carved in what is commonly called the Saxon manner.

To save myself the difficulty of a minute description, I beg to refer to an engraving of this porch in Drake's Antiquities of York, which is the best representation of it now extant, although I must not forget to mention, that the signs of the Zodiac, with which the face of the exterior arch is decorated, are, in regard to their position on the porch, reversed in the print, owing, probably, to an error of the engraver.

The tout ensemble is very striking; as a specimen of art it is beautiful, and the accompanying air of antiquity, which adds dignity to grace, secures for it unqualified admiration. The most casual glance is sufficient to detect indications of its belonging to a period anterior to the conquest, for both its contour and costume forbid the supposition of its construction in times posterior to the Norman improvement in British architecture.

We are thus enabled, at once, to circumscribe our inquiries within the period of the Roman and Saxon occupation of this country; and to determine to which of these two it belongs, is all that I purpose by the following investigation.

It has been observed by a distinguished writer and antiquary, that it is at all times difficult, in the absence of historical information, to assign, with any certainty, the true dates of buildings of antiquity, or from the

^{*} Since this paper was written, I have seen a good engraving of this porch by Mr. Cave, Engraver, Stone-gate, York. It is taken evidently from Mr. Drake's plate, but much enlarged.

peculiarity of their remains to fix the period of construction. But, in the present instance, this difficulty is much increased, by there being, as will presently appear, no difference in the style of the architecture of these two periods, whereby they may be distinguished; and were it not for some features in the costume, I should have despaired of being able to decide in favour of either.

Before proceeding, however, to the general discussion of the question, it may be proper to show the poverty of the historical notices respecting this monument, in order to justify my having had recourse to the method of intrinsic evidence.

These notices are as follow:

- "The Hospital and parish church of St. Nicholas was ruined in the siege of York, anno 1644, and never rebuilt. It has been a noble structure, as appears by part of the tower yet standing, and its antient porch which is now put up in St. Margaret's, Walmgate."*
- "St. Nicholas was of the advowson of the King's of England, and was visited as such by William Grenefield, chancellor of England, in 1303. Richard II. confirmed all donations to this Hospital."
- "Among the religious foundations in York, St. Nicholas is mentioned as an hospital for lepers, to which the empress Maud was a benefactress."
- "There was in or near this city an hospital for leprous persons as antient as the time of Maud the empress, who was a benefactress to it, and is thought to be the same which was afterwards known by the name of St. Nicholas without Waingate Bar, which was of royal foundation. It consisted of a warden and several brothers and sisters, and had lands and rents, 26th Henry VIII. to the yearly amount of £29. 18s. 8d. in toto."

In Torr's Antiquities of York, this church is merely mentioned in the list of religious houses which forms the Appendix.

The sum of all this is, that the hospital and parish church of St. Nicholas, from whence the porch of St. Margaret's was removed, existed

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* Drake's Antiq. of York, p. 250.
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[†] Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 165, ed. 1718.

i Gough's Cambden, vol. iii. p. 65.

[§] Tanner's Notitia Monastica, p. 667, ed. 1744.

in the days of the empress Matilda, and, consequently, in the middle of the twelfth century, if by this personage is meant the daughter of our Henry I. who married Henry V. emperor of Germany, in 1165.*

It is probable we shall never come nearer the date of this church, for the reasons assigned by Somner, who says of parish churches in general, "it is but of very few that I have been able to ascertain either the date or name of the founder, because none of them are much, if at all, anterior to the conquest, before which event, they were for the most part built of wood and destroyed by the Danes. For this reason in some old charters, grants of land are found recorded to churches whose existence cannot be traced beyond this epoch.†

This, in the main, is confirmed by Dugdale in his History of Warwickshire, page 301, and in the Parentalia it is stated, that "in the time of the Conqueror the street-houses of London were of wood and thatched." But, indeed, until after the great fire, in 1666, wood was the common material of which houses were built in the metropolis.

We gain no assistance from the fact, that it was through the interest of the Dominicans, that so many churches were dedicated to St. Nicholas, who was their favourite tutelar saint, because churches were dedicated to him not only before the arrival of this order in England, in the year 1221, but before the order itself existed. The founder, Dominick de Guzman, a Spanish gentleman, was born anno 1170. The order was first approved in the year 1215, by Innocent III. and confirmed in 1216, by a bull of Honorius III. under the title of Augustine. Now, besides the church at York, there was another dedicated to the same personage in the suburbs of the town of Warwick, either a little before, or immediately after, the conquest, where the Dominicans did not settle before the close of Henry III.'s reign.\pmathbf{1}

^{*} Lord Lyttelton, in his *History of Henry II*. vol. ii. p. 456-7, reports that her bounty to pious and charitable institutions exceeded those of any cotemporary king in Christendom, and that she left large sums to lepers and other poor people, as well as to convents and churches, which her son paid honourably.

[†] Antiquities of Canterbury, page 324.

¹ Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickshire.

There were five Popes of the name of Nicholas; the first was elected in the year 858; the second, in 1059; and the third, in 1277; churches, therefore, may have been dedicated to St. Nicholas two centuries before the conquest.

It is evident, however, from the observation of Mr. Drake, "it has been a noble structure as appears by part of the tower yet standing," that this church cannot be referred to the Saxon but to the Norman period, because the Saxon churches were mean in appearance compared with those of subsequent times, being built generally within the space of five or six years, with stone roofs, and without towers, or with such as the epithet noble could not be applied to in our days. "In the descriptions we have remaining," says Mr. Bentham, "of the most ancient Saxon churches, particularly of St. Andrew's, at Hexham, and St. Peter's, at York, not a word occurs by which it can be inferred, that these, or any other of them, had either cross buildings or high towers raised above the roofs but as far as we can judge, were mostly square, or rather oblong buildings, circular at the east end; in form resembling the basilicae, or courts of justice, in great cities throughout the Roman empire, many of which were converted into christian churches on the first establishment of christianity under Constantine the Great; and new erected churches were constructed on the same plan, from its manifest utility for the reception of large assemblies. Hence basilica was used in that and the succeeding ages for ecclesia, or church, and continued so even after the form of our churches was changed. St. Peter's, at York, begun by king Edwin in the year 627, is particularly reported by Bede (Hist. Eccles. lib ii, chap. 14.) to have been of that form, 'per quadrum cepit ædificare basilicam." "*

In the *Parentalia* it is also stated, that the cathedral of St. Paul, which was rebuilt by Mauritius, bishop of London, after the great fire in 1083, "was originally built with a semicircular *presbyterium*, or chancel, in the 7th century, after the usual mode of the primitive churches; but, after this event, Mauritius built it in a more modern style, not with

^{*} Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral, Introd. sec. 5th.

round (as in the old church) but with sharp-headed arches, to make way for which, the semicircular presbyterium was taken down."*

These quotations, as they exhibit the great poverty both of the dimensions and style of the churches built in the Saxon times, appear sufficient to warrant the conclusion, that Mr. Drake's observation can apply to no other than a Norman building, probably a re-edification of that to which the porch originally belonged; many Saxon and Roman door-cases having been preserved, when other parts of the churches were rebuilt.

The date of the church, therefore, which, according to the above data, must be somewhere between the years 1066 and 1165, cannot satisfy us respecting the date of the porch, which is certainly not a Norman work.

To determine this point, therefore, it is evident, that we must, in the absence of historical information, have recourse to the only other means within our power—the intrinsic evidence afforded by the porch itself. This consists of two parts, namely, the general contour of the fabric; and the peculiarity of the costume. But as it is the latter alone which furnishes the discriminating marks, I have selected from it two features as the basis of the argument, which, for the sake of perspicuity, I have divided into three parts. The first of these has reference, in a general way, to the degree of civilization which prevailed in Britain, and more especially to the importance of York, while a Roman province, in order thence to deduce the flourishing state of architecture, and the consequent probability of the existence of such structures during that period; the second embraces the objections to its being a work of the

* Page 172.

Mr. Somner, in his Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 516-7—ed. 1640, quotes the authority of a charter of king Edgar to the abbey of Malmsbury, dated 974, for the fact, that most of our monasteries, before the conquest, were of wood. This is well, but the following assertion, by the same author, is clearly refuted by the above remark of Sir Christopher Wren. Somner says, "St. Paul's was rebuilt after the fire of London anno 1087, by bishop Mauricius, upon stone arches for defence of fire, a manner of work before that time unknown to the people of this realm and then brought in by the French. This doubtless is that kind of architecture the continuer of Bede intends where speaking of the Normans' in-come, he saith, 'videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria edificandi genere consurgere.'"

Saxons; and the third professes to unfold the intrinsic evidence by collateral testimonies derived from the prevaling superstition of the times, and from monuments of this superstition still in existence in this country, though imperfect and very rare.

With regard to the first, we are informed by Cambden,* upon the authority of Cæsar and Strabo, that the Britons, before the arrival of the Romans, had no other towns than woods fortified with a ditch and ramparts; and from the pen of the elegant and discerning Tacitus we learn, that the earliest appearance of regular architecture dates from the time of Agricola. "Cæsar," he relates, "was the discoverer, not the conqueror of the island. He did no more than show it to posterity. The civil wars broke out soon after, and, in that scene of distraction, when the swords of the leading men were drawn against their country, it was natural to lose sight of Britain.

"During the peace that followed, the same neglect continued. Augustus called it the wisdom of his councils, and Tiberius made it a rule of state policy. The invasion meditated by Caligula proved abortive from his caprice, and reserved the grand enterprize for Claudius, who transported into Britain an army composed of regular legions and a great body of auxiliaries. Among the officers was Vespasian. The first officer of Consular rank who commanded in Britain was Aulus Plautius. He was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula; both eminent for their military character. Under their auspices the southern part of Britain took the form of a province, and received a colony of veterans. The next governor was Didius Gallus, who did little more than preserve the acquisitions of his predecessors. Veranius succeeded to the command, but died within the year.

* Gough's Cambden, vol. iii. p. 9. This remark, however, can apply only to the interior of the island, because Cæsar himself gives a different account of the condition of the inhabitants of the coast opposite to Gaul. "Ex his omnibus, longe sunt humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt; quæ regio est maritima omnis: neque multum a Gallica different consuetudine."—De Bell. Gall. v. sec. 14.

Somner, on the authority of Huntington, states that there were 28 principal British towns in the island. Of these Canterbury was one, and called *Kair Chent*, which in British signified a walled town.—Antiq. of Canterbury, p. 8. But this author also reports, with gravity, that this city was founded by Rud-hudibras 900 years B. C.!!

"Suetonius Paulinus was the next in succession, and he pushed on the war in one continued series of prosperity for two years together. In that time he subdued several states; and secured his conquests by a chain of posts and garrisons. He invaded Mona, the retreat of the Druids, and gave a mortal blow to the power of the Britons by the over-throw of their army under Boadicea. From the recal of this officer to the time of Agricola, the Roman commanders were gradually extending the empire of Rome in Britain. Under the latter it was completely subdued, and the Roman power permanently established. He first introduced literature and the arts of civilization, and reconciled them to Roman manners.

"To introduce a system of new and wise regulations was the business of the following winter (the second of Agricola's administration). A fierce and savage people running wild in the woods would be ever addicted to a life of warfare. To wean them from those habits, Agricola held forth the baits of pleasure, encouraging the natives, as well by public assistance, as by warm exhortations, to build temples, courts of justice, and commodious dwelling houses. To establish a plan of education and give the sons of the leading chiefs a tincture of letters, was part of his policy. By way of encouragement he praised their talents, and already saw them by the force of their natural genius rising superior to the attainments of the Gauls. The consequence was, that they, who had always disdained the Roman language, began to cultivate its beauties. The Roman apparel was seen without prejudice, and the toga became a fashionable part of dress.

"By degrees the charms of vice gained admission to their hearts; baths, porticos, and elegant banquets, grew into vogue, and the new manners, which, in fact, served only to sweeten slavery, were, by the unsuspecting Britons, called the arts of polished humanity."

Such is the succinct and interesting communication of this celebrated author respecting the dawn of civilization and the arts among our rude progenitors. To us it is important, as fixing a limit beyond which we need not ascend in our inquiries on the present subject. That the Britons continued, henceforward, to make progress in the arts, appears from Cambden. "The Romans so civilized the Britons by laws, and polished them by manners, that they were not inferior in way of life and improvement to other provinces. They erected so many buildings and noble works, that their remains strike beholders with the greatest admiration."*

It has been ingeniously shewn,† that the military force of the Romans amounted, in Britain, to 73,000 foot, and 13,000 horse, and that the native Romans, or those born in the island, were, at the conclusion of their empire here, not fewer than half a million. A progressive extension of the Roman colony, during a space of 350 years, could not fail to make a powerful and favourable impression on the natives, converting them from a rude to a polished people, and producing all the consequences that can be imagined to result from the diffusion of civilization among men, and in a country, susceptible of the highest moral and physical improvement.

As it is a point of some importance to ascertain, as nearly as may be, the degree to which "the arts of polished humanity" were then carried, I have endeavoured to convey some idea of this by the following sketch of the civil establishment of the Romans in this country, which, in the absence, more especially, of topographical details, appears the only way by which we can arrive at this information.

"The regions of Britain were divided into six provinces, governed by six Prætors and six Quæstors. The former officer was charged with the whole administration, and the latter was appointed to manage the finances under him. All acknowledged one head within the island, and were subject to the authority of the Proconsul of Britain. The country from the southern sea to the Friths of Forth and Clyde, at the close of the first century, contained a hundred and forty towns differing in degree of civil estimation, and in the nature of their civil constitutions, and distinguished accordingly into four orders of towns, municipal and stipendiary, colonies, and cities invested with Latin privileges. Muni-

^{*} Gough's Cambden, vol. i. p. 47.

⁺ Whitaker's History of Manchester, vol. i. ch. 6, sec. 4, and vol. ii. p. 198.

cipal, two; colonies, nine; Latin towns, ten; the rest were stipendiary. in which the Britons resided. The Latin towns were those which were raised above the common rank by the communication of the Jus Latii, or Latin privilege, which consisted in being exempted from the ordinary jurisdiction of the Prætor, and being governed by one of their own election, where the president, justiciary, and tax-gatherer were Britons. The towns possessed by the Romans themselves were the colonies and municipies. The commencement of the colonies was nearly coeval with the conquests in Britain. Colchester was the first colony, and founded by Claudius. The next in succession were Richborough, London, Gloucester, Bath, Caerleon, Chesterford, Lincoln, and Chester. That colony was esteemed the head-quarters of the legion, where some of the principal cohorts were stationed, the eagle deposited, and the commander was resident. Such was Deva for the 20th Valerian Victorious: Eboracum for the 6th Victorious; Caerleon for the 2d Augustan: and Glevum for the 7th Teuin Claudian. The rest were peopled by the other cohorts of those legions. More than eleven mints, in all probability, were established within the pale of their own government in Britain; two in the municipies; nine in the nine colonies; and some in the legionary stations. Coins minted at Chester, London, York, Colchester, Richborough, Verulam, Lincoln, Gloucester, and Conuvium, have been transmitted to the present times.

"The Roman conquests in Britain were regularly partitioned into dioceses as early as the year 314.* The first bishopricks of the church would naturally be commensurate with the provinces of the state, and the first sees of the bishops fixed at the capitals of the provinces. Three of these provincial bishops appear as subscribers to the Council of Arles, in 314."

Dugdale, in his Antiquities of Warwickshire, p. 100, says that Episcopal Sees and Monasteries were not introduced into England before the time of Augustan, when the Benedictine order was established, and became so reputed, that there was scarcely any other in this country before the conquest. Mr. Turner, in his History of the Anglo Saxons, says, however, that each of the 115 civitates into which the 17 provinces of Gaul were divided, had a bishop, and every province a superior bishop, answerable to our metropolitan, though not distinguished by the title of archbishop.

[†] Whitaker's History of Manchester, vol. i. ch. 8, and vol. ii. ch. 11, sec. 4.

The rapid growth of civilization under the Romans appears to have been owing in a great measure to their peculiar policy regarding the disposal of their military force. For, different from the practice of modern times, an order to serve in the provinces, was often, to a legion, a decree of expatriation for centuries, and became, indirectly, a powerful mean of confirming the manners and institutions of Italy. The consequences of this regulation or usage Tacitus describes in the following passage: "The natives of the province of Syria had lived in habits of friendship with the legions, and, by intermarriages, had formed family connections. The soldiers, on their part, were naturalized in the country, and the stations to which they were accustomed, were, by long residence, grown as dear to them as their native country."*

This would be precisely the case in Britain, where some of the legions remained upwards of 300 years, particularly after the reign of Antoninus Pius, when the Roman citizenship was extended to every citizen of property and worth. Before this time, none of the natives were permitted to marry into the family of a provincial officer, to purchase territorial property, slaves, or houses.

To the legionary soldiers lands were also assigned, which they had ample time to cultivate, military duty, being, in ordinary, discharged by supplementary legions formed of natives. Hence one great cause of the rapid increase of the Roman population, their condition being, in the main, favourable to domestic happiness. It must be allowed, however, that the wealth and grandeur of Roman-Britain flowed chiefly from the wisdom of their civil policy; for, extensive as their military establishments ultimately became, it is probable, had they confined themselves to these, that we should have had little more than the remains of their walls and forts to remind us of their presence. It is to the transplanting of their civil institutions, arts, and social refinements, and to the care with which they afterwards nourished them, whatever may have been the motives that prompted such policy, that this country was indebted for that early refinement demonstrated by those splendid specimens of art which have from time to time been discovered within

it. But so scanty are the memorials of the fine arts, and so barren the history of this interesting period, that the imperfect picture of Roman-Britain must be made up from fragments of the history of the times immediately succeeding their departure.

"The authentic history," says Mr. Turner, "for the year 407 is, that the barbarians excited by Gerontius, burst in terror upon Gaul and Britain; that Constantine (created emperor by the British troops in 406, in opposition to Honorius, the legal emperor,) could give no help because his troops were in Spain; that Honorius could send none because Alaric was overpowering Italy; that the Britons thus abandoned, armed themselves, declared their country independent, and drove the barbaric invaders from their cities; that Honorius sent letters to the British states, exhorting them to protect themselves; and that the Romans never recovered possession of the island.*

"After this event the island, as far as it was possessed by the Britons, divided into many independent republics, as appears from the circumstance, that Honorius addressed his letters to the Civitates of Britain. After the year 410, these republics were severally governed by chief magistrates, or decemviri, a senate, subordinate officers called decurions, an inferior senate called curiæ, with other necessary officers. The ecclesiastical concerns were regulated by a bishop in each, whose power sometimes extended into lay concerns." "The Anglo Saxons must have been materially improved," continues this author, "in their manners and mental associations by the internal state of Britain at the time of their invasion. They came among a people who, for above three centuries had been the obedient subjects of the Roman government; to whom the peaceful acquisition and enjoyment of regular property had become familiar; who had cultivated the luxuries which create a distaste

^{*} Upon the authority of Bede and Gildas, it is generally said, that the Romans finally quitted Britain in the reign of Honorius, anno 426. But, from a stone, found at Ravenhill-Hall, in York-thire, anno 1774, it seems the Romans were in Britain during the reign of Justinian, or between the years 527 and 566, a hundred years after that of Honorius. This stone is represented in Mr. Charleton's History of Whitby, and the following is the inscription on it, according to his rendering: "Justinianus Pater Patriæ Vindicianus Mauritanus Africanus Sarmaticus Britannicus Imperator Excellentissimus Romanorum Quater Prætor Maritimum Castrum Effect Ad Navigantium Opus."

for war and love of indolent tranquillity; and whose country abounded with those works of art, that distribution of wealth, and those articles of convenience, which a rude mind cannot contemplate without feeling new wants and expecting new comforts; without having its curiosity agitated and its comprehension enlarged. It is true, that the feuds which followed the departure of the Romans had disturbed the prosperity of the island, and the struggles with the Saxons must have spread much devastation. But the monuments and fruits of the preceding civilization, though diminished, were not destroyed. After all the disorders of the period, Gildas still boasts of the island containing twentyeight cities and some castles, with houses, walls, gates, and towers; and from the ruins of Caerleon, as they continued even to the 12th century, when they were seen by Giraldus, we may form some notion of the improvements of Britain in the 5th and 6th centuries. He says it was elegantly built by the Romans with brick walls. Many vestiges of its ancient splendour are yet remaining; stately palaces, which formerly, with their gilded tiles, displayed the Roman grandeur. It was first built by the Roman nobility,* and adorned with sumptuous edifices, an exceeding high tower, remarkable hot baths, ruins of ancient temples and theatres, encompassed with stately walls, partly yet standing. Subterraneous edifices are yet to be met with, not only within the walls, which are about three miles in circumference, but also in the suburbs, as aqueducts, vaults, hypocausts, and stoves."†

Mr. Carter, an architect of eminence, states it as his opinion, that the works of the Romans in England rivalled those in Rome itself; and that at Woodchester, in the county of Gloucester, vestiges were discovered of a Roman structure 400 feet in extent, the foundation walls of which have been clearly made out; in several of the principal chambers are

The Caerleon is commonly supposed to be derived from Caer-Lheion, the city of legions; but Dugdale, in his Antiquities of Warwickshire, page 298, derives it from the name of the British prince Gutheline, by whom it was built, thus, Caer-Guthleon, contracted, Caerleon. But, supposing it to be of British erection, it is evident the Romans were the people to whom it owed its magnificence, for an account of which, see Polychronicon, lib. 1, cap. 48.

[†] History of the Anglo-Sexons, book viii. chap. 1.

tesselated pavements, in so rich and fine a taste, that the uprights of the work, he observes, must have been magnificence itself.*

All this is countenanced by the panegyric of Mamertinus, in praise of Dioclesian, Maximianus, and Constantius Chlorus, where it is mentioned that there were many eminent architects at that time in Britain, who were invited by the people of Burgundy to erect and repair their public buildings.†

Such is the glimpse afforded by history of the social organization and refinement of the Romans in Britain. It shows that their system of government was favourable to civil liberty, which, with the domestication of the legions, had the effect of spreading a Roman population over the country, and of gradually incorporating the natives in their extensive community, so that it is probable, had the Romans remained two centuries longer, all distinction between the two people would have been We cannot avoid, therefore, the conviction that their public and private edifices corresponded with the condition of the colony in the latter days of their power, more especially when we consider that all this time a direct and constant intercourse was kept up with Rome, the most luxurious capital then in the world. But not to dwell on the consequences which the above statements render very apparent, I shall only observe here, that they are decisive of the inaccuracy of Gildas. who represents the Britons as being, immediately after the departure of the Romans, in a state of utter helplessness and barbarism, and of the superior candour of Stow, who has shown from ancient records, and even from Gildas himself, that the conquest of Britain by the Saxons was owing to the corruption of all classes, and particularly to a waste of military strength, in those contests of ambitious partizans, which occupied the greater part of the interval between the emancipation of the island, and the arrival of the northern bands. So different, indeed, was their real condition from that which the Saxon historian of Glastonbury would lead us to suppose, that we find the natives, notwithstanding these disadvantages, contesting every inch of ground with the invaders, who

^{*} Antient Architecture of England, part 1, and note to page 12th.

[†] See Speed's History of England, page 255, folio edition, 1650.

did not, until after the lapse of a century, succeed in confining them to Wales, Cornwall, and part of Devonshire. The Britons were then corrupt, and weak from corruption and misrule, but not barbarous.

With regard to York in particular, it appears, from Flaccus Albinus, alias Alcuin, a native of the place, who lived towards the close of the eighth century, that it was built and fortified by the Romans, but Caxton says it was built by Ebrancus, fifth king of the Britons, who called it after his own name, Caer-brank.*

Cambden informs us that it was not a Municipium Britanniæ but Colonia.† Like Verulam, however, it soon rose to the rank of a municipium, and to be the chief city of the province of Maxima. The importance of these two Municipia is specially marked by the communication of a privilege which was confined to them, namely, the right of exemption from the imperial statutes, and the liberty of enacting their own laws.‡

Some authors class York as the second city in point of rank, during the Roman dominion in Britain, but the author of the *Polychronicon* asserts that several old writers style it the head of the kingdom. Here the bishops of the province resided; here, also, the emperor Septimius Severus had a palace and court of justice, where he died, after being four years in the country. Constantius Chlorus, too, who succeeded Dioclesian, made Britain the chief place of his residence, and died in this city, after a reign of two years.

- * Polychronicon, lib. 1, capitulum 48. † Gough's Cambden, vol. iii. page 9.
- ‡ Whitaker's History of Manchester, vol. i. ch. 8, sec. 1st.

[§] Among the more modern authors, Archbishop Usher contends for York; Bishop Stillingfleet for London. But the Bishop evidently felt the weakness of his arguments while writing them; they are not written with his usual confidence.—See his *Origines Britannicæ*. Gibbon sides with Usher.—Decline and Fall, vol. i, p. 78.

^{||} Whitaker's Manchester, vol. ii. ch. 11, sec. 4th; Gough's Cambden, vol. iii. p. 65; and Torr's Antiquities of York, page 9.

The long absence of the warlike emperors was very prejudicial to the interests of Rome, and finally annihilated its sovereignty. The emergencies of war were first made the excuse, and until the reign of Dioclesian and Maximian, Rome, in time of peace, was respected as the seat of power and head of the empire. These princes went a step farther, by fixing their ordinary residence in the provinces; the former at Nicomedia, the latter at Milan. In consequence, the one acquired, in the space

The sixth legion, conducted into this country by Hadrian, from Germany, was settled here, according to the general opinion, so early as the year 154, which continued to be its head-quarters until the Romans finally quitted the island. It was probably on account of the long residence of this legion in York, that it received both from Ptolemy and Antoninus, the appellation of Legio Sexta Victrix, a circumstance which, it seems, procured for some other cities similar titles. Thus, Camalodunum and Glevum are also styled Gemina Martia, Colonia Victricensis and Claudia; we have also Dena Victrix, and Legio Claudia for Gloucester.

Thus York, from its becoming, at a very early period, the head of the most extensive province in Britain, and afterwards of Britain itself, commands an unreserved acknowledgment of its having possessed a corresponding degree of wealth, population and embellishment. Other less distinguished cities in the island rivalled in magnificence many of the principal cities within the Alps, and therefore it is not likely, that the occasional residence of the Cæsars, and seat of the western empire, would be in a condition less respectable in regard to public establishments civil and religious. In all that was transacted at York, Italy would give the tone, and as there were no examples in architecture but what she furnished, the style of the public and domestic edifices would be imitated from those of the continent, and, moreover, as the Romans were a people who thought it as necessary to introduce their gods as their laws, language, and manners, it is but reasonable to suppose that they would provide in a suitable manner for the ceremonial of their worship, and that, in making such provision, they would be guided by the precedents of Italy. Upon the whole, it is more improbable that there were no temples of elegant workmanship in the capital of Roman Britain, than that it abounded with them. In regard to York, I fear no local demonstration now exists, which I ought to offer at present, but in

of a few years, a degree of magnificence, which might appear to have required the labour of ages, and became inferior only to Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, in extent or populousness; while the other assumed the splendour of an imperial city, whose houses were numerous and well built, with a circus, theatre, mint, palace, and baths; porticoes adorned with statues, and a double circumference of walls. Such, in short, was its condition, that it did not seem oppressed by the proximity of Rome.

other places ample evidences of such providence have been discovered, with a few examples of which I shall close this part of the subject.

Cambden* states, upon the authority of Spartian (in Vita Severi, c. 22,) that there was a temple of Bellona in this city. Upon the conversion of Constantius Chlorus, who is reported to have married a native and christian, the celebrated Helena, we find the christians were instructed to repair decayed temples, and to build new ones. Bede informs us,† that Gregory the Great advised Augustine that the temples ought not to be demolished, but only, that the idols should be removed and destroyed, and the temples consecrated to the service of the true God. In the time of Lotharius, King of Kent, anno 670, there were Roman temples standing, in which christian worship was performed. At Canterbury, St. Pancrace's church, within the abbey precinct, and St. Martin's, in which Augustine performed his devotions, are supposed to have been idle temples.‡

Stukely discovered the remains of Roman temples at Cirencester and Chesterford. Mr. Carter, in his Ancient Architecture of England, has given representations of several beautiful fragments of the temple of Minerva, at Bath, discovered a little before he wrote. The accompaniments of an owl and helmet, leave, as he justly observes, no doubt as to the deity to whom it was dedicated. From the representations, too, of the sun and moon found among the ruins of the ancient city, and of the head of Diana, encircled by the horns of the moon, it would appear, that temples to these luminaries had also been erected here. And, lastly, a respectable author informs us, that the church of St. Paul, at Rouen, was, originally, a temple of Venus.

^{*} Gough's Cambden, vol. iii. p. 10. † Hist. Recles. lib. i. ch. 30.

[‡] Ethelbert, and his queen Bertha, attended divine service in these churches: the latter was educated a christian, being daughter of Chilperic, king of France.

[§] Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 63-75.

^{||} Part i. plates 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th.

[¶] Turner's Tour in Normandy, page 71.

The Romans first passed into Transalpine Gaul as auxiliaries to the republic of Marseilles, and we find, that Caius Sextius, anno Urbis 629, placed a colony in the neighbourhood of the hot springs of Aix, in Provence, from whom they were denominated Aquæ Sextiæ.—Ferguson's Roman Republic, vol. i. See, also, Livy, b. lxi. of which there remains only the contents.

Having thus established the probability, at least, of the existence of a structure in accordance with the style of the porch in question, in York, during its occupation by the Romans, I now proceed to state the objections to its being a work of the Saxons.

The northern nations, who conquered England after the Romans, were chiefly composed of Saxons, Jutes, and Angles. Their very early history is still involved in obscurity, authors not being, as yet, agreed respecting their derivation. The common opinion runs, that they were descendants of the Getæ, who originally settled in Germany, sent colonies to the Bosphorus, lake Mæotis, and shores of the Euxine, possessing themselves of Thracia, Dacia, and Mæsia, and who, in after times, assuming the names of the countries they had conquered, were known as Cimmerians, Sarmates, Scythians, Thracians, Dacians, &c. in the east; and as Saxons, Sweves, Angles, &c. in the west.

The most ancient authentic information, which has reached us, places them on the southern part of Jutland, and three small adjacent islands, North-Strandt, Busen, and Heiligland, before the middle of the second century. It appears to have been a particular impulse which determined them to piracy. The emperor Probus, to weaken the barbarous enemies of Rome, had adopted the policy of removing numerous parties of them to very distant stations, and had accordingly posted on the shore of the Black Sea a large body of Franks. These, eager to return to their native country, became the Argonauts of modern times. ing possessed themselves of many ships, they ravaged the various coasts of the Mediterranean, and, sailing into the ocean, arrived in safety at the Before this time, the piracies of the Franks and Saxons are not mentioned by imperial writers; but so frequent did they thenceforward become, that, within a few years, it was found necessary to station a powerful fleet at Boulogne, for the protection of the adjacent country. This precaution increased the evil; Carausius, the officer entrusted with the command, having first encouraged the depredations of the pirates, that he might be enriched by recaptures, and having afterwards, when apprehensive of punishment, sought support for his usurpation of the imperial purple, by communicating to the Saxons a more perfect

knowledge of naval tactics. After this, they were fostered by a succession of propitious circumstances, which gradually conducted them to the grand enterprize for which they were destined.*

After the time of Ptolemy, the Saxons are not mentioned again for a century, but, at the æra of the invasion of England, Cambden states, that they were resident in the district of Anglen, in the dutchy of Sleswick, and attributes to them the German cities, Engleheim, the birth-place of Charlemagne; Ingolstadt; Engleburgh; Englerute; and Angleria, in Italy.†

The little band which first arrived under the conduct of Hengist and Horsa, in 449, were Jutes, and three vessels were sufficient for their accommodation during the voyage. A reinforcement, under Ella, arrived, in three more vessels, in 477, Cedric followed, with five ships, in 495, and Ida, with a fleet of forty sail, in 547. Their conversion was first attempted by the monk Augustine, and his coadjutors, in 596, and completed, after the labour of nearly a century, by the submission of the South Saxons to the authority of the church, in 675. Throughout the whole progress of their history, previous to this event, we discover no indications of their ever having been a literary or scientific people. When they were first observed by the Romans, to whom the Goths were known under the name of Germans, they exhibited no symptom of refinement. The perpetual wars in which they were afterwards engaged with this people, in defence of their civil liberty, was unfavourable to the cultivation of letters; and the practice of piracy, to which they became subsequently addicted, and to which the whole nation was devoted, averted the influence of that civilization, which had made great progress in Gaul and Britain, during the decline of the Roman empire in the west, so that, at the period when they became connected with English history, they were, as yet, distinguished for nothing but their ferocity of courage and formidable activity, displaying qualities

^{*} Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. 4to. See also, Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 84.

⁺ Britannia, Introduction.

The Saxons are not mentioned by Tacitus, but, in the time of Ptolemy, the Anglo-Saxons were recognised as a branch of the great Saxon Confederation, which extended from the Elbe to the Rhine-

the most inauspicious to the improvement of intellectual and moral character. Of their compositions in their pagan state, says Mr. Turner, we know nothing; Tacitus mentions generally of the Germans, that they had ancient songs, and therefore we may believe that the Anglo-Saxons were not without them. But none of these have survived to us. If ever they were committed to writing, it was on wood or stones; indeed the word for book (boc) expresses a beech tree, and seems to allude to the matter of which their earliest books were made. The poets of barbarous ages usually confide the little effusions of genius to tradition. They are seldom preserved in writing, till literature becomes a serious study; and therefore we may easily believe, that, if the Anglo-Saxons had alphabetical characters, they were much oftener used for divinations, charms, and funereal inscriptions, than for literary compositions.*

When letters appeared among the nations of the north, is a question still undecided, but, as Tacitus pronounces the alphabet to have been unknown to the Germans, "literaum secretæ viri pariter ac feminæ ignorant," it is probable, their introduction was subsequent to this time. Odin is called, in the Edda, and by Snorro, Father of Letters, King of Spells, which favours the opinion, that he introduced the art of writing among the Goths. It is necessary, however, to state, that the learned disagree as to the æra of this celebrated personage, some supposing him to be Sigge, a Scythian prince, who flourished B. C. 70; others, that he was the progenitor of Hengist, in the fifth degree, and figured in the beginning of the fourth century.

It has been urged, in proof of the Saxons' ignorance of letters, previous to their conversion, that the oldest Runic inscriptions on stone commemorate the fortunes of soldiers who had served at Constantinople in the corps of Varangi, and that no specimen of Saxon writing, anterior to their conversion, can be produced. But as we know that, immediately after this latter event, the books written in the Runic character were destroyed, together with the old inscriptions, because these characters had been employed in magic;† the above particulars cannot be

^{*} History of the Anglo-Saxons, book vii. ch. 4th.

⁺ It was for this reason that Olphilas invented a new character, and that the Saxon character was

received in evidence on this question. The strongest and most legitimate grounds upon which this fact rests are, the silence of history respecting any literary attainments while they continued in Germany, and the absence there of monuments of art, the most incontrovertible attestations of civilization and refinement.*

Asser, in his life of Alfred, has drawn a melancholy picture of the uncultivated state of the Anglo-Saxons, even at the close of the ninth century. In those days, so much was knowledge undervalued by the great and powerful, that even kings signed with the cross because they were unable to write.† By the wise policy of this prince, most of the nobles, and many of the inferior orders, were put under masters to learn to read and write, and many of his Earls, Gerefas, and Thegns, who had been illiterate all their lives, were compelled, under severe penalties, to learn in their mature age, that they might be competent to the discharge of their respective duties. Such was the intellectual condition of the Anglo-Saxons in England, a century after Charlemagne had advanced literature to such a pitch in his empire, that the learned in France and Germany are classed by Muratori with those of Greece, and declared to have been much superior to those of Italy. But the succeeding anarchy had obliterated the labours of Charlemagne, and left Alfred without contemporaneous support, and the civilization of Britain was still more effectually obstructed by torrents of Norman invaders.

High authorities; state, that the first rays of literature were shed on the Anglo-Saxons from Ireland, from whence, also, the empire of Charlemagne had been illumined. This singular fact a modern author thus

afterwards invented in England. From the attachment of the common people to them in Sweden, they continued there until the year 1050, when the Roman characters were ordered to be substituted by the Pope. They were finally condemned in the Council of Toulon, anno 1116. The Getæ or Saxons, ascribed their invention to the gods, who were supposed to have communicated the knowledge of them to Fimbul, and Woden was considered the first who applied them to magic.

^{*} Those stupendous remains of architecture still to be seen in some parts of this country, particularly a vast wall erected by Probus, have nothing doubtful in regard either to age or style.—See Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. ii. p. 81.

[†] This seems to have been the original reason, but it continued to be the practice long afterwards, as a token of their conversion.

¹ Bede, Alcuin, and Adelm.

From the suppression of the western empire, in 476, or at least, from the death of Boethius, in 524, to the close of the eighth century, when Charlemagne employed his utmost efforts for the restoration of learning, a period of nearly 300 years, was an interval of violence and ignorance. In this interval, the rough process was performed, which incorporated the rude tribes of the north with the corrupted nations of the south, and prepared the materials of new combinations of policy; and such a process was inconsistent with the security necessary for the cultivation of letters. But the religion and legislation of the ancient empire contributed to preserve some sparks of learning to relumine succeeding generations. The emperors of the fourth century had encouraged a literary spirit among thier christian subjects, for the defence of their religion against their pagan opponents, and, with this view, had erected libraries for their use. The barbarian conquerors, on the other hand, in general, respected the ministers, of religion amidst all the depredations, and the convents became the asylums of the literary treasures of antiquity, and the schools of the middle ages. Ireland appears to have been provided as a geographical asylum for the fugitives of religion and learning, who were driven from the continent by the violence of this disastrous time. Here they enjoyed for a long space that tranquillity which is necessary to the cultivation of letters. At length, Ireland became a scene of northern depredation, the Danes having extended their ravages to it at the end of the eighth century. just when Charlemagne had fully established his government, and the improvement of his dominions demanded that men capable of communicating instruction, should even be forced from their retreat. It was the opinion of Mezeray (Abrege Chron. tome i. page 508,) that the driving backwards of the Normans by the French, in the great Saxon war of Charlemagne, begun in 772, gave the impulse to their descents upon the coast of France. It seems, then, to be a reasonable conclusion. that the long series of hostility which subdued and civilized Germany, sent abroad those maritime ravages, who drove from Ireland the teachers of learning and religion to give their assistance in the improvement.

^{*} Miller's Lectures on the Philosophy of Modern History, vol. iii.

of an empire, which has been the foundation of the modern polity of Europe. Iceland, which discharged a similar function, in awakening the literary spirit of the north, appears to have received from Ireland its earliest knowledge of religion and letters." That the Saxons in England were much assisted in their education by Irish ecclesiastics, is equally certain; the Irish monk, Maildulf, who settled at Malmsbury. was skilled in Greek and Latin; and, in the life of St. Dunstan, it is mentioned, that he read the books of some Irishmen, who had settled at Glastonbury. It is true, that mention is made of schools and libraries in England, long before the appearance of the Danes on our shores. and that Canterbury, York, and Bangor, are instanced as seats of learning, anterior to the æra of the sea-kings. But these, such as they were. owed their establishment to churchmen. The school of philosophy at Canterbury, we know from William of Malmsbury, who flourished in the reign of Stephen, was founded by Archbishop Theodosius, who died anno 690; and the Grammar School of York is first mentioned in connection with the name of its most celebrated master, Albert, who was raised to that see in the year 767. This prelate is justly praised as the founder of the library of this city, in which he deposited the books he had collected during his travels abroad.* But seminaries are reported to have existed in the British Isles more than a century before this time, and, in particular, Bedet mentions, that the monastery of Bangor was furnished with learned men before the arrival of St. Augustine. But as this was a Benedictine establishment, (as all the monastries appear to have been in England before the conquest,) I fear this expression must be measured by the deep ignorance of that dark period, rather than by our notion of learning in the 19th century, because Benedict of Norsia, the founder of this order, was notorious for his contempt of learning, agreeably to which praiseworthy sentiment, he made no provision for education in the rule of his order, the members of which, in imitation of some

^{*} Stow, in his Chronicle, page 74, reports from William of Malmsbury, that "Egbert, Archbishop of York, about the year 736, founded a library at York, replenished with all good books." For a good account of the schools and literati of the Anglo-Saxons, see Dr. Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, vol. ii.

¹ Lib. ii. c. ii. quoted by Stillingfleet, Origines Britannica, page 265, ed. 1685.

fraternities in Egypt, were brought up to ignorance, labour, and devotion. It is not until after the time of Charlemagne, who appointed schools for the instruction of youth, both in monasteries and cathedrals, that the followers of St. Benedict are remarked for application to study, a distance of 200 years from the destruction of this monastery, and its supposed famous library, by the grandson of Ida, immediately after the decisive battle, in which he annihilated the power of the Britons, and gave to his countrymen the undisputed sovereignty of England; a victory creditable to the courage of the barbarians, had not Ethelfride steeped his laurels in the blood of 1200 supplicating monks.

At this period, nothing could be expected to emanate from Italy, which was then enveloped in thick darkness, from the miseries inflicted by the continental Goths, and by the Saracens, with whom she waged a domestic war from the year 820, when they first passed from Africa to Sicily, until the beginning of the eleventh century, when the Normans established a new dominion in their room.

So deplorable, indeed, had her condition become, that, a century after Charlemagne, it was stated, in the Synod of Rheims, that, at Rome, scarcely any person possessed so much learning as was necessary for a porter.*

Not a scrap of literature ever came from the shores of the Baltic. The sons of Woden traced the map of the country with the sword, and their martial deeds were recorded in the memories of their Scalds: the fruits of Roman civilization everywhere withered at their approach, and were washed away by the torrents of British blood shed in the battle of Caerleon.

To all this, I am aware, it may be objected, that, in the Anglo-Saxon history, mention is made of their possessing many conveniences and luxuries, which men, recently emerged from a barbarous state, could not have derived from their own invention. But this objection has been

^{*} Miller's Lectures, vol. iii. In corroboration of this singular fact, I may be allowed to add, that Mr. Pegge, in his "Anecdotes of the English Language," p. 50, states, upon authority, that several bishops signed the acts of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, held in the 7th century, by proxy, from inability to write their names.

successfully met by Mr. Turner, who observes, that they were indebted for these to their conversion to christianity. "When the Gothic nations exchanged their idolatry for the christian faith, hierarchies arose in every converted state, which maintained a close and perpetual intercourse with Rome and with each other. From the letters of our Boniface, of Pope Gregory, and many others, we perceive, that an intercourse of personal civilities, visits, messages, and presents, was constantly taking place; whatever that was rare, curious, or valuable, which one person possessed, he communicated, and not unfrequently gave, to his acquain-This is very remarkable in the letters of our Boniface and his friends, of whom some were in England, some in France, some in Germany, and elsewhere. The most cordial phrases of urbanity and affection are usually followed by a present of apparel, the aromatic productions of the east, little articles of furniture and domestic comfort, books, &c. This reciprocity of liberality, and the perpetual visits, which all ranks in the state were in the habit of making to Rome, occasioned a general diffusion of the known conveniences and improved inventions which then appeared."*

To architecture, civil and military, ancient Germany seems to have had as few pretensions, as to literature. Until the time of Charlemagne, the state of society there was a state of infancy. "The ancient Saxons," says Bede,† "have no king, but many chiefs set over their people, who, when war presses, draw lots equally, and whomever the chance points out they all follow as leader, and obey, during the war. The war concluded, all the chiefs become again of equal power."

"That they had some sort of architecture," says Mr. Turner, "before they invaded Britain, cannot be doubted, for they lived in edifices, and worshipped in temples, raised by their own skill. The verb, which they commonly used, when they spoke of building, satisfactorily shows us, that their ancient erections were of wood. So appropriate was the word to building, that, even when they became accustomed to stone edifices, they still retained it. The circles of stones found in Cornwall, Oxfordshire, and Derbyshire, as well as those in Westphalia, Brunswick,

^{*} Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, book viii. ch. 6. + Hist. Eccles. lib. i. ch. 10.

and Alsatia, which Keysler mentions, show rather the absence, than the knowledge, of architectural science."* Montfaucon says, that the Scythians built the temple of their god Mars of vine branches, on the top of which they placed an iron scymitar, the image of this deity.

The temple of the idol Irminsul, which was spacious and magnificent, appears, from the expressions of Adam of Bremen, to have been of wood. The palace of Ingleheim, near Mayence, burnt about the year 813, was of wood. According to Stow,† the first castle in Flanders was built in 793, when this country became an earldom, immediately after the Saxon war of Charlemagne, with whose reign the æra of military architecture properly commences. In Germany, however, it appears, there were not any towns until long after this period, neither he nor any of his successors, before Henry the First, having encouraged them. The first erection of towns, in that country, was the work of the church. not only a point of honour, but also a positive canon, required, that bishops should reside in towns, the bishops laboured to form towns for their residence; these were peopled partly by their vassals, partly by freemen, who sought their protection, but principally by artizans and traders. Henry I., anno 919, surrounded with walls the principal villages in Saxony, and the neighbouring provinces. At this period, there was no trace of municipal government in Germany. In the time of Frederick I., emperor of Germany, anno 1152, buildings of stone were so rare, that a cotemporary historian, describing the violences then commonly practised, says, that every man carried steel and flint for setting fire to houses."

The habits and institutions of our Saxon forefathers evidently did not lead them to delight in towns. In England we find, that the country was divided into small hamlet lordships, and that the proprietors lived on their estates. Doomsday-Book shows that, at the conquest, the towns of England were small, and their population contemptible, while, at the same time, the country was remarkably populous. The Romans erected, in this country, many works in every province which they

^{*} Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, book xii. ch. 5.

[†] Chronicle, page 72.

¹ Miller's Lectures, &c. vol. ii.

conquered. It is hardly possible to suppose that these were all destroyed when they quitted it. Yet, notwithstanding what of these must have presented themselves in every part of the country, we find, in the time of Alfred, that English architecture was equally rude with that on the continent. Asser* informs us, that the walls of the Saxon castles were then of earth, and incompetent for defence against the Danes, in consequence of which, this monarch ordered their fortifications to be repaired and strengthened with brickt and stone buildings, and the royal castle of Norwich is particularly stated to have been so improved by the king himself. But, in truth, although the court of this prince was the resort of learned men of all professions, as well foreigners as his own subjects, there was scarcely an individual in his kingdom who could erect a stone building. Of the elegance and comfort of his palace some notion may be formed from the fact, that hangings and lanthorns were used there from necessity, as defences against the wind, which this illconstructed fabric admitted freely, to the annoyance of its inhabitants.

It is true, that Giannone has borne testimony to the magnificence of the public works erected at Rome and Ravenna, under the direction of Theodoric, founder of the Gothic monarchy in Italy, anno 508. But Muratori assures us, that what he accomplished was with Italian architects; and Maffei, an Italian antiquary, declares, that "it is not to the Goths, but to the Italians themselves, that the Gothic style of architecture is to be attributed." Theodoric is entitled to great praise, not only for what he did, but for what he spared; but it is to Charlemagne that we must ascribe the honour of having restored the splendour of Italy, a glory which he was enabled to acquire by the spoils of the Huns, who had become rich from the plunder of other countries.

Ecclesiastical architecture came to the northern nations, with christianity, from Rome. Clovis, the first christian king of France, is

^{*} Asserius de Vita Regis Aluredi, ed. 1603, quoted by Wilkins, Archæologia, vol. xii. p. 144.

[†] I beg to mention here, that in a paper by the Dean of Exeter, read to the Society of Antiquaries in the year 1756, it is stated that the art of making bricks was lost from the time of the Romans until that of Richard II.; upon which authority it seems this opinion still obtains; but if the above passage from Asser be correct, this opinion must be given up, because it is not probable that all the eastles were, at this period, repaired from the ruins of Roman works.

reported to have built the church of St. Genevieve, in 507, and many others, afterwards. His son, Childebert, erected, in 559, the church and abbey of St. German de Prez; and Clothaire, that of St. Medard, at Soissons, about the year 564. The churches, in Gaul, before this time, were either the ancient temples which had been consecrated to christian worship, or churches erected by the christians, before the formation of the kingdom of France, under Pharamond, who flourished seventy years before the conversion of Clovis.

The first Saxon churches in England, those of Northumberland, Durham, and Greensted, in Essex, were built of wood. "Bede," says Bentham, "informs us, that the first Saxon churches were built in king Ethelbert's reign, who was converted anno 561.* He enumerates three, one in Canterbury, one in Rochester, and the cathedral of St. Paul, London; but he has left the materials and manner of construction uncertain, and it is not until a century afterwards, with the exception of one church, built by Paulinus, soon after the conversion of Edwin, king of Northumberland, in 627, that he speaks positively to churches of stone, and then, both he and Eddius, a contemporary historian, are careful to inform us, that they were the work of foreign artizans, under the directions of the English prelates, Biscopius and Wilfrid, whose designs were according to the Roman fashion."+ This style consisted of piers or round pillars, much stronger than the Tuscan, with rude capitals and bases, and semicircular arches; and some of the most perfect examples are, the White Tower of London, the chapel of St. Crosses, and of Christ Church, Oxford; and such also was the style of the old cathedral of Winchester. These two prelates may be justly considered as the founders of the Saxon architecture in England. Such was their zeal for its improvement, that they repeatedly visited Rome for this purpose, and sometimes in company. It was in Italy alone that in those days architecture could be studied, and Rome was still rich in monuments of art,—for, notwithstanding all she had suffered, there remained to her, in the latter days of paganism, a thousand temples,

^{*} This is a mistake. Ethelbert having been baptized by Augustan, who did not arrive until 596.

[†] Introduction to the History of Ely Cathedral, sec. 5.

sixty of which were situated on the Capitoline hill.* In this extensive field there were two fabrics of peculiar interest; the temple of Peace built by Vespasian, and the basilica of St. Peter of the Vatican. The former is an example of a three-aisled edifice, vaulted with diagonal cross vaults, and was probably the prototype of our cathedrals, as none were built in the form of a cross until the 10th century,† or, at all events, until Rome had been inspected for patterns by the Saxon bishops, although I am aware that another reason is usually assigned.

The basilica of St. Peter of the Vatican, was a beautiful structure, erected by Constantine the Great about the year 324, upon the scite of the circus of Nero, and for whose accommodation the temples of Apollo and Mars were demolished. To the honour of Alaric and Totila, they respected this elegant fabrick, the whole of which formed a cross, and it continued to adorn the capital of the Christian world until the beginning of the 16th century, when, crumbling with age, it was pulled down by order of Julius II. to make way for the gigantic and magnificent structure which he began.

Not content with their personal labours, Biscop and Wilfrid hired workmen to follow them to England; and at Hexham, Rippon, and Weremouth, are still to be seen some specimens of what was then effected. The former has the credit of being the first who introduced, and from France, the art of painting and glazing.‡ The middle of the 7th century may, therefore, be considered as the æra of the Roman Saxon style, an improvement, in Britain, upon the preceding wooden structures of the Saxons, and the more ancient basilicæ of the Romans, whose flat roofs were supported without arches, by ranges of pillars only. An example of this kind of building did certainly appear a little earlier, in the church of St. Paul, London, which was restored by Bishop Mellitus in the reign of Ethelbert, with round arches, but still retaining the semicircular presbyterium or chancel, agreeably to the mode of the

^{*} Humphry's Montfaucon, vol. ii. part 1st.

[†] I have since learnt that the conventual church of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, was the first which was built in the form of a cross. It was begun A. D. 968, and finished in six years afterwards.

[‡] Stow's Chronicle, page 74.

primitive churches. But it was the zeal of the prelates just mentioned, for the improvement of the architecture of their native land, that gave the tone to this style, which continued down to the 12th century, and was, as Bede* informs us, allowed by the Saxons themselves to be Roman. All this time, the Saxon laymen took neither interest nor share in these transactions; the bishops were the only architects, and the inferior clergy and monks, the masons. Indeed, it seems they were the only mechanics of those days, at least for the necessities of their own establishments, for it is certain that all the clergy were then taught some trade, which, by the canons, they were obliged to practise at their leisure hours. The twelve hundred monks in the monastery of ancient Bangor were all tradesmen and labourers;† St. Dunstan worked as a blacksmith, and the abbot of Weremouth occasionally held the plough.

Thus, it appears, that the Saxons did not bring with them a know-ledge of architecture, and that in Britain, as well as in Germany, the first essays in this science were the work of the church. It appears, also, that the style then introduced, and continued through the remainder of the Saxon period, was purely Roman, having been first taught and practised in England by Roman masters, and that afterwards it was denominated Saxon, only because it prevailed during the dominion of this people in South Britain, and not from any peculiarity in the style itself.—Here we arrive at an intricacy, for, if what are commonly called the Roman and Saxon styles be identical, how, in the absence of dates, shall we be able to discriminate between them? In general I fear this difficulty will be found insurmountable,‡ but, in the present instance, I hope to overcome it through the aid of the intrinsic evidence, and to show satisfactorily that the porch of St. Margaret's was not the design

^{*} Hist. Eccles. lib. v., and Hist. Abb. Wiremouth et Gyrw. p. 295; quoted by Bentham, Hist. of Ely Cathedral, Introd. sec. 5th.

⁺ Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. ch. 2d.

[‡] It was the opinion of Sir Christopher Wren (*Parentalia*, p. 296), that the least fragment of a cornice or capital was sufficient to indicate whether it belonged to a Roman or Saxon edifice. And Mr. Wilkins (*Archæologia*, vol. xii. p. 174) has the following remark:—" Thus, it appears likewise, that the respective dates of architecture are distinguishable by peculiar characters also: since it is not only by the great contour of the building, the shape of the arch, or the proportion of the columns and piers

of any Saxon bishop. To the development of this evidence I now proceed.

It consists of two parts or features of the costume; the first, comprehending the signs of the Zodiac, already mentioned; the second, a specific subject, carved on the arch of the porch.

In a former paper, which professed to explain the nature of the zodiacal figures delineated on the temples of Egypt and India, I offered several reasons in proof of their being, in such situations, mystic, not astronomical, symbols, and feel much satisfaction in having had this opinion confirmed by subsequent researches. This additional evidence will appear in the explication which I am about to offer on the last part of my present subject, in which the history of the signs will be briefly traced among the Romans during the decline of their power, until the subversion of the western empire, when they finally ceased to bear the mystic import, and became the exclusive property of the astronomer.

It is well known that the sun was, in ancient times, the chief and almost only deity among the pagans. Adoration seems to have been originally paid to the natural luminary,* but afterwards images were substituted, which by degrees became almost innumerable. In later times, however, there was one idol of the sun which became pre-eminent among the symbols of this luminary, and engrossed, in the decline of paganism, the universal homage of the heathen world.

This was a humanized emblem of the sun, denominated Mithras, and represented under the figure of a young man crowned with rays. His name has not yet been explained by the most patient mythologists, one believing it to be a Chaldee word signifying "rays of the sun," or a

that their dates are ascertainable, but each little fragment of a moulding, or vestige of enrichment, marks the zera of the structure, and assists the curious investigator in his researches into antiquity." Sir Christopher was a scholar, as well as, perhaps, the greatest architect England ever produced. But notwithstanding, I may with due deference be permitted to ask, how many dates of ancient churches have these gentlemen determined, and why was one left to the conjectures of posterity?

* The worship of the sun, moon, and stars, was at first performed in the open fields. Hence the ancient Greeks, who were Sabeans, gave to the void or space between the earth and firmament the name of temple, and to the objects of their adoration that of *Theo*, which originally signified the mere action of turning or running.

revolution or cycle of that body; another, that it is derived from the Greek word mio, to tie, because his cap is bound round his head in the shape of the Persian bonnet; while a third asserts it to be simply the Syriac term for Lord; and a fourth, that it was given to him because the sun is subject to eclipses. The figure itself, however, seems to be intended only as a personification of the eastern gender of the sun, for which the face and phallus were characteristic diminutives and common substitutes.

There is also much uncertainty as to the country which gave birth to this idol. The general opinion derives it from Persia, yet it is strange that this opinion does not stand even on a plausible foundation. distinguished antiquary Montfaucon observes, in his "Introduction," that "the Persians adored the natural sun at first, afterwards under the figure of a young man, Mithras, which worship extended to Greece. and spread over the whole Roman empire;" but recollecting afterwards, that in the most ancient account of the religion of the Persians, delivered by Herodotus, it is stated that they had no statues, he qualifies what he had said before by intimating, that "it is supposed the worship of Mithras was introduced into that country by foreign merchants."* This latter opinion is very satisfactorily confirmed by the following observations of Mr. Bryant:—" Mithras was a Chaldaic god; adored at Heliopolis, in Egypt, where obelisks were erected to him. He was commonly represented under the character of Osiris and Orus. Stephanus speaks of Mithras as a man and joins him with Phlegyas, and informs us that these were the authors of the Ethiopic rites and worship; for they were by birth Ethiopians; which people were the first nation constituted in the world; and the first who enacted laws, and taught men to reverence the gods.

"There was a temple of the god, Sol, in Arcadia. This was an ancient name for Mithras, and Osiris, in the east. Hence the priests of the sun were called Soli and Solimi, in Cilicia; Selli, in Epirus; Salii, at Rome; and described by Virgil thus—

[#] Humphry's Montfaucon, vol. ii. part 2.

" 'Tum Salii ad Cantus incensa altaria circum.' "*

From a passage in Gibbon's Decline and Fall, we may, with probability, infer, that the state religion of Persia was pure Sabaism, even in the third century of the christian æra. In relating the sack of Antioch, by Sapor, King of Persia, in the reign of Valerian, this author mentions, that "the tide of devastation was stopped for a moment, by the resolution of the high priest of *Emesa*, who appeared in his sacradotal robes at the head of a body of fanatic peasants, armed with slings, and defended his god and his property from the sacrilegious hands of the Persians."

Both parties were Heliolaters, but the people of Syria had long before become Helio-idolaters, or worshippers of the sun, through the medium of representative images, and consequently obnoxious to the Persians as heretics. That the idol in this temple was Mithras, is placed beyond a doubt, from its having been from Syria that his worship spread through the western empire, and from the circumstance of its symbols, appearing on the coins of Heliogabulus, who was priest of this temple before his elevation to the purple, and afterwards of that which he built on the Capitoline hill to the same god. There seems to be, therefore, no good reason for referring the origin of this modification of the worship of the sun to Persia.

Although the worship of Mithras was common in Greece and Asia, before the Roman commonwealth had reached its zenith, yet no memorial exists from which it can even be inferred, that it was publicly recognized, in Italy, before the Romans engaged in foreign wars, because, until then, there is ample evidence to prove, that they preserved a sincere attachment to the ancient national faith prescribed by the code of Numa, which inculcated the exclusive worship of the gods of their fathers, and veneration for their ancient rites and tenets. The gods of their fathers were the simple and rustic divinities of Etruria and Latium, until the three hundredth and fiftieth year of the city, when a portion

^{*} Anal. of Ant. Mythol. vol. iv. p. 313, and vol. i. p. 38.

[†] Vol. ii. p. 438,—8vo. ed.

of the imposing and elegant mythology which had been embellished by the conceptions of Homer and hand of Phidias was added to the native stock; at which time Livy enumerates, among the principal deities of Rome, Apollo, Latona, Diana, Hercules, Mercury, and Neptune. But these, as yet, received the adorations of the Romans, in the simple capacity of independent rulers of the elements and particular powers of nature, and no others appear to have been associated with them, until a taste for the Grecian philosophy began to prevail, with the exception of Esculapius, in the consulate of Posthumus Megellus and Caius Junius Brutus, and again, anno urbis 462; and of Cybele during the second Punic war.

Ennius, is perhaps the first Roman writer who mentions the Dii Consentes, or twelve great gods of the Romans, which he has transmitted to us in the following distich from an old Greek poet.*

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercurius, Jovi, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

These, as I have elsewhere shown, t are merely Latin appellations for the twelve great gods of Greece, attributes of the sun, and of which the signs of the zodiac were personifications.

The worship of the sun does not indeed appear to have been established by law in the time of Ennius, but from some prohibitory orders of the Senate, against the solar rites or Egyptian superstitions, as they are called by some authors, it seems to have been clandestinely practised even before this period. Accordingly, we find a decree of the Senate recorded in the 657th year of the city, and consulship of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Licinius Crassus, forbidding the immolation of man. Now, as human sacrifices were unknown among the Romans until the introduction of the Mithratic mysteries, we have here positive

^{*} This fragment of Enniue has been preserved by Varro de R. R.

[†] Classical Jour. Nos. 55-6-7. For an account of these gods, see the notes to the first vel. of Pausonius' English Translation, vol. iii. p. 276.

[‡] Among other authorities, Photins, in his Life of Athanasius, mentions, that there was a Greek temple in Alexandria, in which, in ancient times, the Greeks performed sacred rites to Mithras sacrificing men, women, and children, and anguring from their own viscers. And Socrates and Sozomen

testimony to their private celebration at least, about seventy years after the death of Ennius.

Mr. Gibbon also states, upon authority, that about forty-two years afterwards, the temple of Isis and Serapis was demolished, by order of the Senate, and even by the hands of the Consul himself, and that their worshippers had before been repeatedly banished the city.*

Of the frequent attempts that had been made to introduce foreign superstitions during the better days of the republic, Livyt has furnished ample proof, in a speech which he has recorded of one of the Consuls, who harangued the people on the discovery of the sect of the Bacchannals, a discovery which filled Rome with the utmost horror. "How often," said he, "was it given in charge to the magistrates, in the ages of our fathers and grandfathers, to prohibit the performance of any foreign religious rites; to banish strolling sacrificers and soothsayers from the forum, circus, and the city; to search for and burn books of divination, and to abolish every mode of sacrificing that was not conformable to the Roman practice." As the worship of the sun prevailed at this time among the more polished nations, it is reasonable to suppose, that it was alluded to on this memorable occasion which occurred about 186 years, B. C.

That Serapis was an idol of the sun, is allowed by the most eminent mythologists. The two following inscriptions are from Montfaucon.‡

To Jupiter the Sun the great Serapis, and to the Gods that are worshipped in the same Temple.

To Jupiter the Sun the great Serapis.

In the British Museum also, in the sixth room of Antiquities, No..95, is a small statue of Jupiter, sitting, having the erect and inverted torch,

report, that, in the reign of Julian and Theodosius, the cave of Mithras, at Alexandria, was opened, and found full of sculls of human victims. Pallas, in Porphyry, also mentions the Mithratic mysteries in connection with the abolition of human sacrifices by the Emperor Hadrian. But this abomination was a common rite in this worship from the earliest times, for the ancient Syrians "caused their children to pass through the fire to Moloch," a personification of the sun.

^{*} Decline and Fall, vol. i. p. 52. + Lib. xxx. sec. 16.

[‡] Vol. ii. book iii. ch. 1st, and book iv. ch. 6th, Humphrey's Translation.

intimating his two-fold capacity as king of the upper and lower regions, or the summer and winter sun.

The Ennian or Roman Jove, therefore, and the members of his council, the *Dii Consentes*, or *Dii majorum gentium*, were types of the sun and his attributes, adopted from the mythology of Greece, and familiar to the Romans, at the time this poet wrote, as he enumerates them among the deities of his countrymen.

As it will hereafter appear, that these were the *Mythratic* symbols, it follows that Plutarch, who affects to be particular as to the period and people by whom this worship was introduced into Italy, must be mistaken, when he affirms (*Life of Pompey*) that it was brought to Rome first in the time of Pompey, and by the pirates who were subdued by that illustrious commander, who flourished 120 years after Ennius.

Until their interference, in the affairs of Greece and Lower Asia, the Romans may be said to have preserved their primitive religion, and under its influence, their primitive virtue. The innovations previously attempted proceeded from the zeal of fanaticism alone, and though at times partially successful in its appeal to the credulity of the people, was yet effectually within the controul of the laws, whose salutary restraint the Senate, who, throughout the commonwealth, respected the venerable institutions of Numa, occasionally interposed to check the inundation of foreign rites.*

* That the religion of the ancient Greeks and Romans had no connection with their morality, is a misconception founded upon ignorance of their history, and as it has been publicly maintained, in a very recent work, I shall, perhaps, be excused for exposing this error here since it interferes with the view I have taken of the same subject.

In Southey's "Book of the Church," the author observes, vol. i. p. 11, that, "Religion had no connection with morality among the Greek and Roman heathers, and this was one main cause of their degeneracy and corruption. Religion consisted with them merely in the observance of certain rites, and the performance of sacrifices; men were left to the schools of philosophy, there to choose their system of morals, and learn a rule of life."

The above remark, he gives upon the authority of Bishop Stillingfleet; the following I give upon that of Polybius, and is so conclusive as to supersede the necessity of further quotation.

In his estimate of the Roman manners, of his own day, compared with those of other cotemporary and ancient people, he thus assigns the cause of the pre-eminent morality of the former:—

"But, among all the useful institutions which demonstrate the superior excellence of the Roman

But after the conquest of the East Rome became the head of a mighty empire, and was incessantly filled with subjects and strangers from every part of the world, who, together with foreign literature, introduced a variety of exotic superstitions to the neglect of the ancient worship. It was then that she became, in the language of her modern historian, "the common temple of her subjects, and that the freedom of the imperial city was bestowed on all the gods of mankind."

The dawn of philosophy and polite literature, at Rome, was coetaneous with the march of her armies into Syria. This was the age of Ennius, of Cato, and of Africanus the elder, who accompanied his brother, Cornelius, commander of the first expedition against the Syro-Macedonian Kings.

The lovers of wisdom now began to frequent the schools of Magna Grecia, and Athens, where the teachers, from motives of rivalry, as much as from a spirit of inquiry, were divided into a variety of contending sects. In each school, however, they were alike instructed to

government, the most considerable, perhaps, is the opinion which the people are taught to hold coneerning the Gods; and that which other men regard as an object of disgrace, appears, in my judgment, to be the very thing by which this republic is sustained, I mean, superstition, which is impressed with all its terrors, and influences both the private actions of individuals, and the public administration of the State, in a degree that can scarcely be exceeded. To me, it appears, that this contrivance was at first adopted for the sake of the multitude. For if it were possible for a State to be composed of wise men only, there would, perhaps, be no need of any such invention. But as the people universally are fickle, filled with irregular desires, precipitate in their passions, and prone to violence; there is no way left to restrain them, but by the dread of things unseen, and by the pagesmtry of terrifying fiction. The ancients, therefore, acted with good reason when they inculcated the notions concerning the gods, and the belief of infernal punishments; but much more those of the present age, are to be charged with rashness and absurdity, in endeavouring to extirpate these opinions. For not to mention other effects which flow from such an institution, if, among the Greeks, for example, a single talent be entrusted to those who have the management of any public money, though they give ten written sureties, with as many seals, and twice as many witnesses, they are unable to discharge the trust reposed in them with integrity. But, the Romans, on the other hand, who, is the course of their magistracies, and in embassies, disburse the greatest sums, are prevailed on by the single obligation of an oath, to discharge their duty with strict honesty. And, as in other States, a man is rarely found, whose hands are pure from public robbery; so among the Romans it is no less rare to discover one tainted with this crime." The historian goes on to show the true cause of the degeneracy of morals in great states, from which he predicted, with singular accuracy, the future fate of Rome. - See his General History, book vi. conclusion .- Hampton's Trans.

reject and condemn the religion of the multitude, to smile at the pious ceremonies of their fathers, and to assert the independent dignity of reason. Men so educated were not disposed to wrangle about new modes of faith or worship, and though they were constrained to yield obedience to the laws by public acts of devotion, yet they approached the most sacred fanes with inward contempt, and even the Pontifex Maximus often ridiculed in private both the objects and system of which he was guardian. With the diffusion of Grecian literature, these atheistical opinions spread among the patricians; and the legions, who had intimately mixed with idolaters of a different cast, completed the downfal of the indigenous superstitions of Italy, by the propagation of the rites of the Syrian Mithras among the commonalty. On the death of Cæsar, the temple of Serapis was restored at the public expense, and under Augustus, his worship had become fashionable at court, as appears from the coins of the British Prince, Cunobeline, who resided in Rome during part of this Emperor's reign, on which, among other Roman devices, may be seen the symbols of this deity.

But, although this worship was recognized in the wane of the republic, and in the first days of monarchy, and the protection of the law had been yielded to its votaries, by a corrupt and humbled senate, in obedience to the wishes of a prejudiced emperor and clamorous body of citizens, yet there is a circumstance recorded by Tacitus, which shows that it did not generally prevail even so late as the sixty-ninth year of the christian æra, and that the western provinces had not then become infected, since it seems to have been still unknown to the legions who garrisoned Gaul, the banks of the Rhine, and Britain.

In detailing the events of the civil war, which succeeded the death of Otho, this author relates, that on the morning of the engagement, which led to the capture of Cremona, by the army which had declared for Vespasian, "the third legion, according to the custom observed in Syria, paid their adoration to the rising sun." "This eastern form of worship," he continues, "either by chance, or by the contrivance of

^{*} Many of these are engraved in the works of Pegge and Stukely. Fifty are said to have reached our times.

Antonius, gave rise to a sudden report, that Mucianus had arrived, and that the two confederate armies exchanged mutual salutations."*-Licinius Mucianus and Antonius had each embraced the cause of Vespasian against Vitellius. The former was then at the head of the forces of the east, and governor of Syria, and the latter commanded the troops, who had revolted from Vitellius, in Germany and Gaul. The third legion had, not long before, been removed from the east, as we read of its serving under Mark Anthony against the Parthians (who are described, by Herodian, lib. iv. ch. 15. in the act of worshipping the sun), and under Corbulo against the Armenians. As this legion, therefore, knew what they were about, it was impossible to impose on them, but upon the rest of the army who had not been in Syria; and the attempt of Antonius to gain advantage from this circumstance, or its spontaneous effect in his favour, produced by an erroneous conception of the posture of homage, argues complete ignorance of its import in all the witnesses. Indeed, it does not appear to have become very common, until the civil wars which followed the death of Nero, the last of the line of Cæsar, when the legions were frequently intermixed; the exigencies of the competitors for the purple often bringing suddenly into collision the forces stationed in opposite quarters of the empire.

But afterwards, the Mithratic symbols are very common on the coins of the lower empire, particularly on those of Pertinax, Septimius Severus, Heliogabulus, and Constantine the Great. In the third century, this superstition had become general, and the following forms of dedication accordingly very common.

"Deo Soli Invicto Mithræ."-" Soli Invicto Comiti."

In imitation of the Massagetæ, who sacrificed a horse to Mithras, Gallienus, on his return from the east, represented Apollo as a centaur, holding his lyre in his right hand, and a globe in his left, with the inscription, "Apollini Comiti."

Probus, represented him as a charioteer, crowned with sun-beams, the title, "Soli Invicto."

^{*} Hist. lib. iii. sec. 24-25.

Constantine, Aurelian, and Crispus, represent him as a naked man, crowned with rays, having a globe in one hand and a whip in the other; the title, "Soli Invicto Comiti."

At Rome, two altars were found, dedicated to Mithras, by Marcus Aurelius Euprepes, the freedman of the emperor, to whom the god had appeared in a dream.

On the first was inscribed-

"Numini Invicto Soli Mithræ. M. Aurelius August. Lib. Euprepes una cum Filiis piis. D. D."

On the second—

"M. Aurelius Aug. Lib. Euprepes Soli Invicto Mithræ Aram ex Visu posuit."

At Nismes, the following was discovered:-

"Deo Invicto Mithræ L. Calphurnius Piso Cn. Paulinus Volusius.
D. S. D."

It thus appears clearly enough, that it was the Mithratic modification of the worship of the sun which prevailed among the Romans; and as Mithras was but another name for the chief deity of Phœnicia, Egypt, and Greece, it will explain how he came to be frequently represented by the same symbols which were common in the worship of Bel, Osiris, and Apollo.

The prevalence of these rites, through the Roman dominions, during the decline of their empire, appears to be chiefly attributable to the extensive intercourse which arose between Rome and the eastern provinces, after the deposition, by Pompey, of Antiochus Asiaticus, the last of the Syro-Macedonian kings, and to the intimate association and family connections formed by the soldiers, officers of state, and some of the emperors, with the inhabitants of Syria, the hot-bed of this superstition.

Septimius Severus, married Julia, daughter of Bassianus, high priest of the sun, at Emesa, who was mother of the emperor Caracalla. Julia vol. II.

Mæsa, her sister, was married to Julius Avitus, a man of consular rank, by whom she had two daughters, who were the mothers of Heliogabulus and Alex. Severus. Both these were educated in Phœnicia, Mæsa, having, on the death of her son, retired from the angry presence of Macrinus, his successor to her native city Emesa, taking with her her two daughters, then widows, and her two grandsons. By her interest, the son of her daughter Soæmis, was promoted, while a boy, to the office of his grandfather, the duties of which he afterwards continued to discharge, at Rome, where his impiety and folly led him to assume the title of Elagabal, or puissant god.

Aurelian, too, who filled the throne in the middle of the third century, and who built a magnificent temple to the sun, on the Quirinal hill, in which he placed the images of this luminary which he had plundered from that of Palmyra, was the son of an inferior priestess of Mithras.

Again, Antioch, which, under the Seleucidæ, had risen to such a pitch of wealth, populousness, and refinement, as to yield with reluctance to the majesty of Rome itself, was the permanent residence of the Roman governors, occasionally of the emperors who headed the eastern expeditions, and the head quarters of at least four legions, while, at the same time, it was the grand focus of the Mithratic institutions. The ancient city of Emesa, in whose suburbs one legion was usually quartered, was in its neighbourhood, and Carrhæ, of Mesopotamia, at no great distance; the former celebrated for its splendid temple of the sun, the latter for that of the moon, which was here worshipped under the title of *Deus Lunus*.

It was in the common course of moral agency then, that a worship, which had become the family religion of the prince, and the favourite superstition of the soldiery, at a period when they were the most powerful and intolerant, and whose prominent feature was licentiousness, should recommend itself to a people among whom philosophy and luxury had already undermined every principle of virtue, and by them be gradually diffused through their most distant colonies.*

^{*} In order to show more explicitly, that Mithras was the god adored in Syria, I shall add the

I now come to offer a few proofs of the signs of the Zodiac being symbols of Mithras, and as such, objects of adoration, originally, among the Romans.

In the twenty-first plate of Humphrey's Montfaucon, there is a representation of the rape of Proserpine, accompanied by the signs, in separate compartments, and ranged in a straight line. In the thirty second plate, there is a figure of the sun, surrounded with the signs in a manner which forbids the idea of its having any allusion to astronomy. The ninety-sixth plate contains the representation of a broken statue, found at Arles, in 1698, having four coils of a serpent round the body, with three of the signs between each convolution. In the British Museum, in the sixth room of antiquities, No. 65, is a bas-relief representing the goddess Luna, surrounded by the signs. The deity appears seated in an arched niche, on the face of which the signs are sculptured.

following observations, from Mr. Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, which, at the same time, prove the identity of this deity with Isis, Cybele, and Ceres, and thus account for the commixture of rites and symbols in the worship of these divinities.

- "Asia, i. e. land of fire, was a name given originally to Phrygia and part of Lydia only, from the rites of fire established there.
- "One of the most ancient cities of Syria, Adesa, called by the Greeks, Edessa, was so named for a similar reason. The sun was here worshipped under the name of Azizus. Both Ceres and Proserpine were called Azazia, and by the Ionians, Azesia. Azaz, and Azizus, is the same as Asis and Isis made feminine by the Egyptians.
- "The Mithyr, of Egypt, was the same with the Da Mater or Demeter of the Greeks, the mother of the gods.
- "In the coins of Syria, we find Cybele, with a tower upon her head, sitting on a rock. In her right hand, she holds some ears of corn; near her is the mystic hive and an altar, and over her head is a bird; below her feet is water, in which a person seems ready to sink. There is a coin to this purpose of the empress Julia Severa, which was struck at Antioch, on the Orontes. The same story occurs on the coins of Julia Mæsa, at Edessa, of Severus, at Charræ; of Gordian, at Singara; of Barbia Orbiana, at Side; of Philip, at Nisilus; of Alex. Severus, at Rhesain. The history was undoubtedly taken from the religion of the Syrians and Mesopotamians."—Vol. i. p. 38; vol. iii. p. 184—245.

These observations are decisive of Mithras, whose symbols appear unequivocally on the coins of the lower empire, being the masculine type of the sun worshipped at Edessa, and, consequently, that he is of Phœnician descent, and one of the ancient gods of Canaan. After this, it is easy to trace his identity with every other ancient emblem of this luminary.

This monument is, perhaps, not more than two feet in height, but in excellent preservation.*

The temple of Diana, according to Montfaucon, was sometimes ornamented with the signs.

In a paper, by the Reverend John Hodgson, published in the Archæologia Æliana, vol. i. part ii. an account is given of a very singular and unequivocal Mithratic monument, which was discovered at the celebrated station of House-Steads, the ancient Borcovicus, thirty miles west of Newcastle upon Tyne. It consists of the figure of the Persian Mithras encircled with the signs. The stone, Mr. Hodgson observes, when perfect, has been four feet high and two feet six inches broad. The upper part has been thinned away. It is at present in several pieces, Libra and Cancer are wanting. I have, myself, seen this monument, and although it is now in a very mutilated state, enough still remains to show that the signs were once complete in number. It is a circumstance worthy of remark, as tending to confirm the nature of this remain, that it was discovered in an artificial cave dedicated to Mithras, because it was a peculiar feature in this modification of the worship of the sun, that its rites were celebrated in caverns, both in Persia, Egypt, and the west.

Montfaucont reports from Luctatius, the interpreter of Statius, that the Persians were the first who introduced the custom of worshipping the sun in caves. St. Jerome, in his epistle to Læta, mentions the den of Mithras, with its monstrous figures. In Egypt, Belzoni found the signs delineated in some of the ancient tombs; and it was mentioned above, that there was a cave of Mithras at Alexandria.

An intelligent writer, who resided long in India, has the following observation:—"The ancient oracle and place of worship, at Delphos, was a cave, which was called Delphi, an obsolete Greek word, synonymous with yoni, in Sanskreet; for it is the opinion of devout Hindus,

^{*} I inquired, at the proper quarter, where this interesting monument was found, but was sorry to learn that this important particular was not known.

⁺ Humphrey's Montfaucon, vol. i. part ii.

that caves are symbols of the sacred yoni." "This opinion prevailed also in the west; for perforations and clefts in stones and rocks were called cunni Diaboli, by the first christians, who always bestowed the appellation of devils on the heathen deities."*

Yoni, it must be noticed, signifies pudendum muliebris, and constitutes the second sign or mansion of the lunar zodiac of the Hindus, among whom the worship of Mithras was very common.

These examples are sufficient to show, that, among the Romans, as among other people, especially the Greeks, the zodiacal figures were objects of idolatrous worship, being symbols of the attributes of the sun, the division of whose natural course into twelve parts suggested the partition of his essence into a corresponding number of attributes or qualities, which by the vulgar were esteemed distinct deities. In Greece, however, we find an acknowledgment of the unity of these, in the title Menotyrannus, which intimates that he was lord of the months as well as of the years.

I have now to mention some of the principal Mithratic monuments which have been discovered in Britain, together with the places where they have been found, in order to show the prevalence of the worship of the sun in this country, during the period of its occupation by the Romans.

Besides the monuments, already mentioned, found at House-Steads, there were two altars discovered there at the same time; and by the same gentleman, one is described as being three feet seven inches high, the other a foot higher, both bearing inscriptions showing their having been dedicated to the sun and Mithras; the former during the joint consulship of Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and his son, C. Vibius Valutianus, A.D. 253.

In Westmorland one, and in Cumberland four, Roman altars were found, inscribed to the god *Belatucadro*, whom Dr. Ward, upon the authority of Selden and Vossius, has shown was the same with Bel, Apollo, or the Sun.† Mr. Cambden mentions that a tablet was

^{*} Wilford on the Sacred Isles of the West-Asiatic Researches, vol. vi.

[†] Archaeologia, vol. i. page 309.

found in Trinity church yard, York, on which there was a representation, in bas-relief, of Mithras stabbing the bull. An engraving of this tablet is given in the 62d plate of his Britannia. Several similar engravings are also to be found in Montfaucon's Antiquities, on some of which two or three of the signs may be recognized, such as the lion, serpent, and scorpion, accompanied with the upright and inverted torch.—Mithras riding on the bull was an emblem of the meridian sun; hence bulls were sacrificed to him, and he is sometimes represented as performing this sacrifice himself, by stabbing the bull in the fore part of the thorax with a short Roman sword. The absurdity of a deity offering sacrifice to himself is characteristic of the Roman people; for, among other instances, Tacitus records that of Sejanus, the freedman of Tiberius, who offered incense to himself after his deification.

In Scotland, at Westerwood Fort, on the wall of Antoninus, Mr. Gordon found a phallus, carved in relievo, and in good preservation. Very interesting and curious monuments of this idolatry were also discovered, by Gordon and Pennant, in the north-east of Scotland, chiefly at Baluthern, four miles north of Dundee; at Aberlemni; Forress, in Murray; Aberdeen; Mar; Glamis; and Meiggle, in Angus-shire. They are represented and described by the former author in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, and by the latter in his *Tour in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 167.

But the plates of Gordon appear the most carefully executed, as well as his description the most minute. His representations are exhibited on the plates numbered 53, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61, and 63 of his work published in 1726.

These monuments are large monolithite obelisks, having several of the signs mixed with other devices, rudely carved, on one side, and a large figure of the true cross, as it is termed, on the other. The most remarkable are, 1st. Sweno's stone at Forress, in Murray, which is 23 feet high, and 5 broad, and exhibits several human, and other animal figures, on one side, and the cross, on a large scale, on the other. 2nd. The Maiden Stone, in the county of Mar, twelve miles from Aberdeen: on one side of this stone are carved the figures of a fish, serpent, camel, eagle, and three horsemen; on the reverse, the cross, highly ornamented,

and surmounted by two wild boars. 3rd. King Malcome's stone, at Glamis, on which is represented, a serpent, fish, lion, centaur, two men with battle axes, &c. The cross occurs here on both sides. On the stones at Meiggle similar figures are represented. On No. 6, plates 59 and 60, of Gordon, the caduceus of Mercury is observable. No. 3, plate 60, is the representation of a stone at Glamis remarkable for exhibiting the figure of an elephant in its natural state, unaccoutered. All these are carved in that style which has been remarked as peculiar to the Roman soldiery. Mr. Gordon also informs us, that at Inverkerthing, in Fifeshire, there is a stone 10 feet high, on which several hieroglyphics are carved in low-relief; and that there is another obelisk at Campbelltown, in Argyleshire, which is supposed to have been brought from Icolmkill.

The conjectures respecting the people who raised these stones are almost as various as the antiquaries by whom they have been examined. The terrors impressed by the Danes transferred to that people in the traditions of posterity many a camp and castle, as well as obelisk, erected by the Romans, and seem to have obliterated the remembrance of earlier Hence it has happened, that some antiquaries have vainly invaders. endeavoured to reconcile the appearance of these monuments with events which belong to a later period in the history of Scotland, declaring it to be their opinion, that they were raised in memory of victories obtained over the sea-kings. But no victory was gained over them in Murray; on the contrary, in the reign of Malcome, the Danes, in a great battle, defeated the Scots there: Gordon supposes that Sueno's stone was set up to commemorate the battle of Murtloch, gained over the Danish generals Olavus and Enecus, sent into Scotland by Sueno. But these are the very generals who defeated the Scots in the reign of Malcome.*

Bishop Nicholson, in his Scots Historical Library, page 64, concludes, that they are remains of the later incursions of the Danes and other

Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 101.

^{*} It must be allowed that the tradition which connects these stones with events which happened in the time of the Malcomes, is, at first sight, plausible; for, after their successes in Murray, the Danes are said, by some respectable historians, to have been defeated by Malcome II. at Murthlack, in Angus; and Malcome IV. was surnamed the *Maiden*, from having persevered in a life of celibacy.

northern nations; while Hector Boethius, with a bolder imagination, pronounces them Egyptian hieroglyphics, from which country he derives the Scots themselves.* Gordon, apparently ready to take a hint from any quarter, joins issue with Boethius; and, forgetful of his opinion of Sueno's stone, says, page 164, "But taking it for granted that the Scots never came from Egypt, yet this hieroglyphical way of representing facts is uncontrovertedly like the Egyptian fashion, and was without doubt invented to transmit most memorable actions to posterity." To this opinion Pennant also assents, so that, in regard to the number of advocates, it may be considered as hitherto preponderating. jecture, as no reason is offered by any of the party in its support, is, by chance, a happy one; for these symbols were common in Egypt during the Roman government of that country, together with the hieroglyphical mode of writing, as has been shown by two distinguished modern writers. The signs which may be distinctly made out on the above obelisks are, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Gemini, and Pisces. The other figures, unequivocally Roman, are, the caduceus of Mercury, and the elephant, the image of this animal having been given by Julius Cæsar to the fifth legion, for their standard, as a reward for their having voluntarily combated the elephants, in number thirty, in the army of L. Scipio, at that time the confederate of Juba.

Those, that are presumptively so, are, the wild boar, the horsemen and captives, and cynocephali, which appear on figure 2d, plate 55, because the two former have been found on monuments undoubtedly Roman, as in those represented at Nos. 5 and 6, in Stukeley's plate prefixed to his account of a Roman temple near Graham's Dike, published in 1720; and the latter are familiar objects in the mythology of Egypt, whence they were derived by the Romans.

The appearance of war chariots, too, among these figures, is strong evidence that these stones were erected long before the invasion of the

^{*} In Hollinshed's translation the following are the words of Boethius:—" The Scots, at first, used the rules and manners of the Egyptians from whence they came, and in all their private affairs they did not write with common letters as other nations did, but rather with cyphers and figures of creatures made in the manner of letters, as their epitaphs on tombs and sepulchres remaining among us do hitherto declare."

Danes, as such were not used after the wars of the natives with the forces of Italy.

There are some who imagine, that by possibility these obelisks, or the devices on them, may have been derived from the Phœnicians, or Greeks, who are said to have made early settlements in Britain. But to this it may be replied, that whatever settlements were made by those people, they were confined to the southern shores of the island, being solely for the purposes of traffic, and not with a view to territorial aggrandizement; so that, such a supposition must be treated as a mere flight of imagination. That they were not the work of the Caledonians or natives, is clear, from an expression in Mr. Smith's Gaelic Antiquities, where, at page 16, it is said, "in the Gaelic language there is no hint of Roman gods." As, therefore, they were not derived from earlier visitors, nor raised by natives; and as they would form an anomaly in the history of succeeding invaders, it is to the Romans, that common sense as well as sound criticism will refer them, to a people among whom they were familiar, as objects of worship and common design, whose gods were the constant companions of their eagle, and whose common practice was the commemoration of their services in the provinces, by impressions of their national characters.

But let us examine this question more particularly, as it is one of importance and novelty.

Agricola fought his great battle with Galgacus about the year 85 of our zera, in which it would seem, from Horsley,* that all the legions were present, and the general opinion places the scene of this action towards the eastern extremity of the Grampian hills, in whose vicinity many of the stones in question were situated. The impression made at this time, on the Caledonians, was improved by this able general, who immediately formed stations to keep the natives in check, by which means this part of Scotland was preserved to the Romans for a considerable time afterwards. But, upon this expedition, I do not mean to found any conclusion, because, the above learned antiquary asserts, that "we have few inscriptions so ancient as the time of Hadrian,

and none now extant in Britain that are undoubtedly older."* Although, therefore, these monuments cannot be considered as belonging to the class alluded to by Horsley, yet I think it better to draw the proof of my position from later events, both because they are more authentic, and more fertile in materials for the argument. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, Lollius Urbicus commanded the forces in Britain. This active and enterprising officer, is supposed to have penetrated even farther than Agricola himself, into Scotland. He reduced the eastern and north-eastern shore, scaled the hills of Athol and Badenoch, behind which he had driven the natives, and was about to gain the glory of the complete conquest of Britain, when the Caledonians rallying under Creones, attacked and repulsed him. Afterwards, uniting wisdom to valour, they managed to press the Romans with such effect, as, within the space of 30 years, to force them behind the rampart of Antoninus, which this general erected to defend the more southern possessions of Rome; abandoning all to the northward of that boundary, which was denominated the province of Vespasiana.

Horsley† and Gordon‡ are of opinion, that the Romans had no settled stations beyond the River Tay, and that the Vallum Barbaricum, as it is sometimes termed, or the rampart which stretched across the isthmus, between the Forth and Clyde, was, by that people, considered the limit northward. But, besides the above positive testimony, that they occupied the province of Vespasiana, at least the eastern half of it, for upwards of thirty years, Mr. Whitaker, who, on more than one occasion, has displayed greater depth of research than either of these gentlemen, informs us, that the British nations beyond the rampart of Antoninus were sixteen in number, of which six were reduced by the Romans, and ten remained unconquered. And from the Itinerary of Richard Corinensis, which forms the appendix to his History of Manchester, the following appear to have been the principal stations, in Scotland:—Falkirk; Peebles; Dunbarton; Stirling; Kinkel, upon Erne; Perth; Dunkeld; Brumchester, on Tay Frith; Brechin; Eshlie, on North Esk; Aberdeen; Fyvie; Nairn; Inverness; and

^{*} Britannia Romana, p. 81.

⁺ Britannia Romana, p. 65.

[†] Itinerarium Septentrionale, p. 187.

^{||} Hist. of the Antiquities of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 201-

Brumchester, near Blair. Now, as to three of these stations the Jus Latii was extended, namely, to Inverness, Perth, and Dunbarton (all within the province of Vespasiana), it appears they were towns of considerable importance, municipal, and within the pale of Roman judicature, consequently, integral portions of the empire, and, therefore, as permanent as the Roman government, in that quarter of the island. This proves, that the Romans not only had military stations, but that they were domiciliated for some time beyond the Tay. But this is going, perhaps, farther than necessary, for all that is requisite, is, merely to establish the probability, that they were in that distict under such circumstances as would produce sepulchral monuments. know, that after the province of Vespasiana was formally abandoned, that of Valentia was retained for upwards of seventy years afterwards, until Septimius Severus fixed the limit of the empire, in Britain, by his famous wall, which extended from the River Tyne to the Solway Frith; and, that along the whole line of the Vallum Barbaricum, or wall of Antoninus, the Roman population was very dense, from the number of considerable towns which were situated in the line of country which it occupied, such as, Falkirk, Dunblane, Stirling, Paisley, Dunbarton, Glasgow, &c. Thus established on the confines of Caledonia, it is not too much to suppose that frequent occasions would offer, either for the gratification of cupidity, or the exercise of vengeance, on the hostile tribes of the north; and, it is certain, that in such excursions, the intrepidity of their opponents would give ample occasion for the erection of monumental pillars. But, further, sixty years after the time of Septimius Severus, a war of considerable duration was prosecuted against the Scots and Picts, by Constantius Chlorus, and after his death, by his son Constantine, who was twice in Britain. The impression made, at this time, may be gathered from Speed, who says, "they subdued the Britons, that were more remote, and inhabitants of those islands, that witness the setting sun."* At a still later period, the Romans again established themselves on the borders of Caledonia, for, in the reign of Theodosius I. the province of Valentia was reconquered, apparently by

[#] History of England, p. 259,—from Eusebius' Life of Constantine.

Stilicho, who then commanded the forces of the west, and whose victories over the Scots and Picts are celebrated by Claudian, though without specifying the year.

But, as the transactions of this general, in Scotland, have not been minutely detailed, I forbear to examine the reasonableness of the supposition, which would derive these monuments from them, because, in my own opinion, the probability of their Roman origin is sufficiently accounted for, by the knowledge of the previous integration, with the empire, of the country in which they were found; although, as it could be done without prolixity, I deemed it but justice to the subject, to adduce every circumstance in which a probability might be supposed to reside.

The nature of these monuments seems to be placed beyond all doubt, by some later discoveries, mentioned by Mr. Gordon, in his work, page 87, "On digging up," he states, "a small tumulus, near the castle of Glamis, in Strathmore, an urn was lately discovered, with great quantities of Roman medals of silver; one, a silver coin of Galba. At the Silver Burn, near Aberdeen, many more Roman medals were found, several of which I saw in the hands of some gentlemen there. north, in the country of the Boyne, several Roman coins were dug up, twenty-seven of which were then in the possession of the earl of Findlater. Four of these were medals of Antoninus Pius, one of Faustina, one of Otho, in silver, the rest of different emperors." He further informs us, that the medals and coins, found north of the Tay, were all procured from sepulchral monuments, and that no vestiges of Roman encampments, no altars with inscriptions, or military instruments, are to be found beyond this river. Here, it is to be observed, that none of the coins specified are of later date than the reign of Antoninus, and, therefore, none which can be referred to a period subsequent to the abandonment of Vespasiana. It is remarkable, too, as Mr. Pennant observes, that such stones are not only unknown in Ireland, but limited to the eastern side of north Britain. Thus, then, if we commence at Theodosia or Dunbarton, not far from which is Campbellton, where one of these stones is stated to have stood, and proceed along the wall

of Antoninus to its eastern extremity, we come to Inverkeithing,* on the north side of the Queen's Ferry, where another of these stones was found; next, turning northwards through Fifeshire, we arrive at Victoria, or Perth, on the banks of the Tay, twenty miles west of Dundee, and about half that distance of Meiggle, Glamis, and Coupar in Angusshire, where more were discovered; then, continuing northwards from Dundee, or, in a north-easterly direction from Perth, we arrive at Aberdeen, in whose neighbourhood the rest are placed. If from hence we still proceed northwards, we come to Ptoroton, or Inverness; from whence, drawing a straight line, almost directly southwards, through Brumchester, or Blair, to Victoria, we shall have described pretty nearly the boundary of the Roman possessions in Vespasiana, within which, both the obelisks and other sepulchral memorials, mentioned by Mr. Gordon, were discovered; a coincidence equally remarkable and satisfactory.

But here I must anticipate an objection, which those who follow the opinion of Mr. Horsley will urge, who denies that the 5th legion was in Britain; because, if this opinion holds, it will deprive my argument of all the weight which depends on the image of the elephant being a Roman emblem. This opinion was adopted and maintained by this distinguished antiquary upon the ground that he could not discover any memorial to substantiate the fact; contending that, during the second, third, and fourth centuries, the 2d, 6th, and 20th legions only were in Britain.† Mr. Gordon, however, who preceded him by several years in this walk of literature, had, in his Itinerary, page 56, presented the world with an engraving of a stone which he found at Grot-Hill-Fort, near the town of Crow-hill, upon the wall of Antoninus, inscribed thus > LEGV < . "From the letters," he says, "two angular borders appear on each side of the stone so close and plain that it leaves no room

^{•*} Stukeley makes Abercorn the eastern termination, but it is supposed to have extended to the Queen's Ferry, although it cannot now be traced so far, the east end having been long imperfect from the removal of the material into new buildings, chiefly during the times when the Scottiah kings occasionally held their court at Linlithgo, and Calender Castle.

[†] Cambden says that these were all that were in Britain during the reign of Severus.—Gough's Cambden, p. 44.

to doubt of its being read Legio Quinta; nor is there any space whatsoever for another letter to have been put in." Against this Horsley enters a strong protest, alleging that it ought to be read Legio Victrix.* But among the three legions which he himself allows to have been then in Britain, and to have continued until the last, there was another so entitled, namely, the 20th, or Valens Victrix. According to his own account, also, both these legions were employed in building this wall;† therefore, his reading would reduce this stone to the condition of an equivocal monument; and if so, it is, so far as I know, at least, the only equivocal monument in our island. There are some unintelligible from the nature of the subject which they commemorate; others from the defacings of time; but none perfect, I believe, of ambiguous import. Besides, it appears, that in regard to the amount of the military force of the Romans in Britain, the author of the Britannia Romana was not very well informed; and, therefore, to remove so much of the objection as depends on his limitation of the number of legions, I shall have recourse to the exposition of Mr. Whitaker, who places this particular in a very luminous point of view. "It is supposed," he observes, "by Mr. Horsley, that the Roman garrisons in Britain during the second, third, and fourth centuries, amounted to only three legions, the 6th Victorious, 20th Valerian, and 2nd Augustan, and their auxiliaries.— And with this supposition the History of Dio, Ptolemy's Geography, and Antonine's Itinerary seem all to concur; as they all mention these to be resident in the island. This number, as appears from the complement of a single legion during the very same ages, which was 6100 foot, and 726 horse; and from the stated proportion of the auxiliary to the legionary troops, which was equal in the infantry and double in the cavalry, must have contained about 36,000 foot, and 6500 horse. would be the greatest amount of them, even if every corps had its just complement of men. And we can have little doubt but among a nation which was so numerous, and in a country only in part subdued, the legions and their auxiliaries were constantly supplied with fresh recruits, and maintained in their full force. But, even this considered, three are

^{*} Britannia Romana, page 86.

insufficient for the purpose of garrisoning the island. And the long list, which the two Itineraries give us of the stations in Britain, shows them to That presents us with 140 or 150 fortresses, even after the Romans had retired to the wall of Antoninus, and abandoned the stations that extended from the friths to Inverness. Those were all of them designed to be, and were actually, garrisoned by the Romans; as otherwise they would not have been constructed at first, nor recited in the And I have shown each of them to have been Itineraries afterwards. attended with various castellets, which would require garrisons nearly equal to the complement of the principal station. But it would be evidently ridiculous to distribute a body of 43,000 men into 140 principal forts; as such a scheme would allot only about 307 for a station and its subordinate chesters. The garrison of every station in the Itinerary, with its appendages, except five or six that were merely constructed ad Fines, could not have been less than 400 effective men. A greater number would have been requisite for most, and a smaller could not be sufficient for any. And even in this disposition, the total amount of troops requisite for 140 garrisons would be 56,000 men. This is apparently the smallest number that we can suppose resided in the kingdom. But a much greater was resident in it; as, during the dispersion of the rest, some more considerable bodies would be kept together, the more effectually to overawe the conquered Britons within the walls, and the unconquered without. And such actually appear together; one large corps being quartered at York, another at Chester, and a third at Caerleon, in Monmouthshire. This being the case, there were necessarily more than three legions in the island. The positive testimony of Josephus assures us, that there were four during the reign of Vespasian. And the accounts of Richard, and the discovered inscriptions of the Romans, prove that there were more afterwards. Several bricks have been discovered at Caer-Rhun, on the ancient Conovium, in Wales, which clearly exhibited the name of the 10th legion. And the fact is very particularly authenticated, having the united attestation of the Rev. Mr. Brickdale, and Dr. Gale, each (as far as appears) unknown to the other, and both concurring in the same testimony. Hence the 10th legion

appears to have been quartered among the Ordovices, and at the station of Conovium. And it remained there a long time; because the name of a neighbouring hill, Mynyah Caer-Lheion, or the mountain of the city of the legion, shows the town to have obtained the same name among the neighbouring Britons that Deva, the seat of the 6th legion for three centuries, acquired on one side, and Isca Silurum, the residence of the 2d for as long a period, still retains on the other. To this we may add the 7th or Claudian, which was settled at Gloucester in the reign of Claudius, and from the length of whose residence the town was denominated Legio Claudia. Thus have we found five legions resident for a long time in Britain, two additional to the number supposed by Mr. Horsley, and seemingly fixed by Ptolemy, Dio, and Antoninus. the legionary lists in these authors are very defective. That of Dio, which is the fullest, mentions only thirty-one in the whole; that of Antoninus only twenty-six; and Ptolemy's only seventeen. And as the two last of them appear particularly defective upon a collation merely with the first, so is this expressly declared to be the list of such legions only as consisted of Roman citizens. The many that were composed of volunteers from the subject nations, and which were very distinct from the bodies of auxiliaries supplied by the national authority of each, as the 5th of the Gauls, the 10th of the Batavians, and the twelve others that are recited in the following catalogue."—(See vol. i. p. 261.)— "All of these are professedly omitted by Dio. The authentic records of inscriptions demonstrate the number of both to have been fifty or sixty at least. And the suggestions of common sense, still more authentic than they, evince the necessity of as many (independently of the national auxiliaries) to secure the extended dominions of the Roman empire. The express number of the legions appears indeed, from Dio, to have been only twenty-three or twenty-five from the reign of Augustus to that of Alexander Severus; and from inscriptions, I think, never to have exceeded thirty-six afterwards. And this has been generally supposed by our antiquaries, to be absolutely the whole of the Roman legions. But as several of these were bodies of foreign volunteers, so each of the others, except, perhaps, the 8th, 11th, 14th, and 30th had

several extraordinary brigades of citizens or foreigners belonging to them; every one of which had equally the complement and denomination of a legion, and were distinguished from each other and the original brigade by some additional title. And this was sometimes derived from the name of the emperor under whom they had been originally raised, or by whom they had been particularly favoured, but was generally assumed from the kingdoms of their first or longest residence. Hence in Dio's catalogue of purely Roman legions, we find so many of them distinguished by the denominations of Gallic, Cyrenean, Scythian, Egyptian, Macedonian, &c. And the 10th Twin legion, being long stationed in Germany, and the 2d Augustan, being longer settled in Britain, appear under the particular denomination of the 10th Germanic and the 2nd Britannic legions, in Ptolemy and the Notitia. original and additional battalions can seldom be distinguished from each other by their names. And yet they may by the catalogue of Dio. Thus the 7th legion had the several brigades which were called the 7th Claudian, and the 7th Galban legions, both consisting of Romans, and. therefore, specified by Dio; and the 7th Twin, 7th Twin Claudian, and 7th Twin Antonian, all three composed of foreigners, and therefore omitted by him. And the 10th had the 10th Fretan, and 10th Twin, two enumerated battalions of Romans; and the 10th Antonian Augustan, and the 10th Batavian, two unnoticed ones of foreigners. 10th legion is mentioned by Dio, and placed by him in Judea; and Josephus had previously fixed it at Jerusalem. And the brigade intended by both appears, from the Notitia, to have been equally denominated the 10th Fretan. It was settled in Judea by Titus; and there it continued to the period of the Notitia. But the legion which was stationed in Wales, and which appears, from the above mentioned inscription, to have been certainly a battalion of the 10th, appears pretty clearly, from a coin which was discovered in that country, and inscribed with the following name, to have been the 10th Antonian Augustan.

"And many of the legionary brigades were denominated Gemellæ, or Twins; because they were compounded of two, and had a double complement of men. Such was one of the 10th, of the 13th, and vol. 11.

14th. And such, as appears above, were three of the five in the 7th. One of these, the Twin Claudian legion, was that which was stationed at Gloucester. The troops, then, which the Romans maintained in the island, were five legions, one of them being double, and all having their attendant auxiliaries; or about 73,000 foot, and 13,000 horse. And the head-quarters of another, the 20th, were in all probability fixed at Chester, by order of Agricola, at the termination of his war, as it certainly resided there within seventy years afterwards.

"We have also the positive authority of Malmsbury, perhaps the vehicle of tradition, but probably the copier of history, that one or more of the Julian legions, those commanded by Julius Agricola, were actually settled at Chester; and the better and more express attestation of Richard, that Chester was constructed by the soldiers of the 20th."*

This statement is clear and precise, and consistent with the nature and extent of the Roman government in Britain, and a strong contrast to the superficial manner in which this important question has been disposed of by the author of the *Britannia Romana*. It is true, we gather from it no direct proof of the 5th legion's being in Britain, but it contains the certainty that the military establishment of Britain comprised two more than this author chooses to allow, and the probability that in the course of three centuries others may have belonged to it, whose records may still be undiscovered, or have perished in the lapse of time.

But, besides the latitude in regard to the amount of the forces in Britain, we know from history that sudden emergencies often produced a rapid and indiscriminate shifting of the legions, a memorable instance of which happened in that eventful period which succeeded the death of Nero. In the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the former was reinforced with the flower of the British army, and he had sent also into Spain and Gaul for succours. The 5th and 15th legions, which were disposed in the wings of the army, were supported by the vexillaries of three British legions, apparently of the 9th, 2nd, and 20th, which formed the centre, as their numbers correspond to three of the four brought over by Claudius. Pannonia and Mæsia were drained of their contingent

^{*} History of the Antiquities of Manchester, vol. i. ch. 6, sec. 4.

of troops, and Mucianus was hastening from the East to the same scene of action. This political tempest agitated the whole empire, and so disturbed what may be considered the quarter-master-general's arrangements, at least, for the western provinces, as to render it impossible for historians to have taken distinct notice of the particular changes which then occurred.* Other succeeding commotions, no doubt, were, to a certain extent, followed by similar results, so that it appears bold to presume, that no part of a legion, which was indisputably quartered in the neighbouring provinces of Germany, ever served in Britain, especially since we know, that it was not uncommon for the legions to have detachments in different provinces; for example, the 10th had three; the 12th, five; and the 22d, six cohorts, in Gaul and Germany.†

The following discovery, however, in conjunction with the above reasons, I conceive to be completely decisive of this question. About the year 1793, a Roman urn was discovered, in a barrow, 196 feet in circumference, near Hopton, in Derbyshire. On the stone which covered this urn was inscribed, "Gellius Præfectus Cohortis Tertiæ Legionis Quintæ Britannicæ.";

This shows that this legion was not only in Britain, but distinguished, as a British legion, by the title Britannica.

It ought not, at the same time, to be forgotten, that the legions did occasionally carve the insignia of their standards on the works which they erected. In Mr. Carter's Ancient Architecture of England, part first, plate fourth, is exhibited a representation of the standard of the 2d Augustan legion, consisting of a pegassus and sea-goat, which were taken out of the Roman wall, near Newcastle. And number 3, in the plate prefixed to Stukeley's Description of a Roman Temple, is another representation of the same standard, found in Scotland. It is

^{*} This is eminently exemplified, in M. Crevier's History of the Roman Emperors, who, in relating the same events, upon other authorities, states, that there was only one legion drawn from Britain upon this occasion; and that the 5th and 15th, had, at the same time, been removed from Mæsia and Pannonia to assist at the siege of Jerusalem.

[†] History of the Antiquities of Manchester, vol. i. ch. 8, sec. 1st.

I Archæologia, vol. xii. plate 2d.

not likely, that a national custom would be exemplified in the practice of one legion only.

To those, who, notwithstanding what has been said, may still be disposed to imagine, that the image of the elephant, on one of the stones, at Glamis, has some connection with the order of the elephant, of Denmark, I would beg leave to observe, that in 1464 Christian I. established a monastic society with the badge of an elephant, which appears to have suggested to Frederick II. the idea of founding such an order of knighthood, which he gave away for the first time, in 1580. As the earliest of these dates is subsequent to the latest invasion or descent of the Danes on Scotland, it destroys the last presumption in favour of the Danish origin of this emblem.

But it must be confessed, that a difficulty, apparently a formidable one, still opposes itself to the conclusion, that these obelisks are Roman. I allude to the seemingly anomalous conjunction of christian and pagan symbols, presented by the appearance of the cross on these monuments. In explanation, it will be necessary to advert, in the first place, to the authentic æra of the introduction of christianity into this country.

Some rest satisfied, that this most important blessing flowed immediately from the compassion or policy of Gregory the Great,* who, in the year 596, appointed the monk Augustine, with Paulinus and Mellitus, as his principal associates, to this charitable mission. But, we are assured, that the first consequence of their arrival was, a dispute with the members of the British church, respecting the prerogative of the bishop of Rome. This sagacious and wily pontiff perceived the growing importance of Britain, and was unwilling to delay the opportunity of establishing within it his temporal authority, by proclaiming and arguing his divine right of supremacy over the christian world. At all times the first step in this scheme of ambition was, to effect the recognition of the supreme authority of the see of Rome in ecclesiastical government. But, startled at this new and presumptuous doctrine, the

^{*} Mr. Ledwich, in his "Antiquities of Ireland," p. 78, says, that bishop Lawrence, in Bede, mentions, that he and Austin were sent by Gregory, as if the gospel had never been heard before in Britain.

[†] The standard of Hunguar and Hubba was a raven.

British prelates deputed to confer with the monks, warmly remonstrated, and opposed with firmness, such arrogant pretensions. Failing in argument, the archmissionary paid court to the Saxon king, Ethelbert, who accepted baptism and became a pious catholic, walking daily arm in arm with his spouse Bertha, to the church of St. Martin, to listen to the sermons of St. Augustine on the tenets of the Roman church. The Britons, obnoxious on more accounts than one, were gradually put to the sword, until their civil and religious liberty was finally extinguished.*

It is evident, then, that these were not the first christians who came to Britain, and that Augustine was the apostle, not of the British but of the Saxon nation, whose conversion may very properly be dated from this event.

In a former part of this paper, it was stated, upon authority, that this island was partitioned into dioceses so early as the year 314, or eight years after the accession of Constantine the Great, when christianity was established by law throughout the Roman empire. Its introduction into Britain must, therefore, date higher than this period.

Bede says (Hist. Eccles. lib. i. ch. 4.), that the British king, Lucius, was baptized about A. D. 164.

Usher agrees to this, while others reject this passage of the Saxon historian as spurious, upon the flimsy pretext, that the history of the church in times immediately succeeding, is very obscure.

In escaping from this hard passage, Rapin, in his History of England,† remarks, that from the supposed conversion of Lucius, to the Dioclesian persecution, or, during eighty years, the ecclesiastical history of Britain is entirely unknown, although, in that persecution, it furnished many martyrs. Mr. Bentham also, in the introduction to his History

^{*} Bede, lib. ii. ch. 2, reports, that Augustine threatened the British clergy with extermination, by the Saxon sword, for their resolution of non-conformity. Mr. Ledwich cites, in the above mentioned work, p. 94, authorities for the fact, that Ethelbert, at the instigation of the same monk, put to death the seven bishops who first resisted his claims. And Spotswood, in his History of the Church of Scotland, fol. p. 12. ascribes to his religious enmity the slaughter of the twelve hundred monks of Bangor.

[†] Book i.

of Ely Cathedral,* observes, as it were by the way, that "little is found in history concerning the state of the British church, in the times immediately succeeding, possibly the records of those times might be destroyed in the Dioclesian persecution; for nothing material occurs concerning the christians in Britain, till the beginning of the fourth century, the last year of that emperor's reign, when we find they had their share in it." Their share seems to have been considerable, since a thousand suffered martyrdom, in Litchfield alone. So much, says Speed,† did this town then suffer, that it still bears for its arms, a field, charged with many martyrs.

From this sad account, we learn, that christianity had made considerable progress, in Britain, before the time of Constantine the Great, as this persecution commenced ten years before Dioclesian resigned. For the growth and extension of christianity, in this dark period, we perceive an adequate cause in the long peace of a hundred years enjoyed by the church, from the persecution of Domitian, in the year 92, to the edict of Severus, in the year 204; neither Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Verus, nor M. Aurelius, having publicly noticed the christians, or made their religion a matter either of conscience or state policy. In many places, it is true, they sometimes suffered during this period, from civil commotions, the violence of provincial governors, and even from their own imprudence; but, throughout, there was no edict for persecution, and, upon the whole, it was a period of comparative rest to the church, in which much seed was brought to maturity.

From this we are better prepared to receive the testimony of Fordun (Scotichron, lib. iii.) and of Hector Boethius (lib. vi. p. 89),‡ who report the introduction of christianity into Scotland in the reign of Severus, upon an application of King Donald to Pope Victor, for missionaries to preach the gospel to his subjects; nor, against such authority, do I think it reasonable to treat this particular of Scottish history as a fable, merely because Bede, St. Jerome, and Marianus Scotus are silent on the subject, unless their testimony be essentially necessary to the whole history of

^{*} Page 3. + Page 255. ‡ Quoted by Stillingfleet, Origines Britannica, ch. ii. p. 52.

the Scottish church anterior to the times in which they respectively flourished. Marianus, however, happens to mention the mission of Palladius, the first bishop of Scotland, who, according to the Ulster Annals, arrived there in the year 431, or two centuries after the reign of Donald; therefore Cardinal Baronius* chose, for the honour of his church no doubt, to laugh at Fordun and Boethius, and pronounce Palladius the first who promulgated christianity in North Britain. Unfortunately, however, for this dignitary and his followers, it is an indisputable fact, that many christians retired from England, during the Dioclesian persecution, into Scotland, where they would not fail to make known the faith they so highly valued, and where, it is certain, they did establish a system of church government similar to that which prevailed in South Britain, an ample detail of which may be seen in the history of the Culdees, members of the primitive church of Scotland.

Since, then, there is no positive proof to oppose to the statement of Fordun and Boethius, their declaration must hold good against a negative argument, more especially as they are authors of respectability, particularly the latter, who was principal of the college of Aberdeen in the reign of James V., and of whose learning and integrity both Buchanan and Erasmus speak in the highest terms, notwithstanding the aspersions of some English writers. The fair inference, therefore, from the fact related by the above historians, and which they profess to have collected from ancient annals, is, that if Donald solicited assistance from the bishop of Rome for the propagation of christianity in his dominions in the beginning of the third century, he must previously have heard of it, have listened to its preachers, and been convinced of the truth of its doctrine, and, therefore, that it must have reached Scotland in the 2d century, and if so, that it was originally introduced by the Roman soldiers, who were the only foreigners known to the Scots for the first five centuries after the christian æra.

This, however, implies a very early planting of christianity in South Britain, from whence the Roman garrisons in Scotland were always furnished with troops.

^{*} See Spotswood's Church History of Scotland.

That it was known here in, or near, the times of the apostles, Usher, Stowe, Speed, and Stillingfleet have shown from several authorities.— The latter, in particular, quotes Eusebius and Theodoret to this effect,* and states, upon the authority of Gildas, the father of British history, who flourished nearly two centuries before the Saxon historian, Bede, that this event happened after the triumph of Claudius Cæsar over the Britons, and before the middle of Nero's reign, i. e. between A.D. 44 and 61, during which Britain was reduced to a Roman province, and a communication opened between the two countries. Now, as Gildas acknowledges that, from the scarcity of domestic monuments, he was compelled to have recourse to foreign writers for information on this subject, the fact of this early introduction rests, fortunately, upon the testimony of unprejudiced and impartial men, and therefore the more entitled to credit. Rejecting then, the legendary tales of the preaching of Joseph of Arimathea, of Simon Zelotes, and of St. Paul, in Britain, yet whence arises this unanimity of opinion among the ancient historians of England and Scotland, and some of the ancient fathers of the church, as to the general fact, unless from a concurrence of more remote history and tradition; a basis perhaps as solid as any upon which we build our belief of the general subjects of ancient history. It would thus seem that the introduction of christianity into Britain is to be referred to Roman emigrants who fled from the persecution of Nero, and its prevalence during the first centuries, to its adoption and propagation by the Roman colonists and soldiers, throughout the whole line of their conquests northward in the island. Some have wasted much time in attempting to determine the year and the individual who first conveyed it hither; but it is hopeless to glean such particulars from the scanty records which have survived the several persecutions of ancient British literature. edict of Dioclesian was as hostile to the works as to the religion of the Christians, and many records of those early times were buried in the ruins of the British churches; Ethelfrid burnt the library of the monastery of Bangor in which there must have been some interesting memorials of the transactions of the ancient Britons; and Edward I.

^{*} Origines Britannicæ, ch. i. p. 36-7.

destroyed the monuments of the Scottish nation.* From the time of Bede to the conquest, a space of three hundred and thirty years, there was not an historian in the kingdom; and much of what had been gathered by the clergy in the middle ages, perished at the dissolution of religious houses in the sixteenth century, so that it is now vain to hope to obtain a knowledge of the precise time or mode of its introduc-What of this sort has been raked up and exhibited by some modern authors has been disproved as monkish fables unworthy of attention or remark, and the unimportance of the question itself is likely to skreen it from further discussion, at least in the present day. Assuming, therefore, in the mean time, the reign of Nero as the æra of the introduction of christianity into Britain, we shall have, from thence to the reign of Antoninus Pius, a space of eighty-eight years, in which it was making progress among all classes of Roman subjects, and, therefore, a high degree of probability that it obtained in the army of Lollius Urbicus. his lieutenant. Thenceforward it seems to have spread, with more or less interruption among both the Romanized Britons and natives. until.

^{*} Spotswood thus enumerates the more prominent consequences of the invasion of the English monarch:—" He carried the principal nobility captive; abolished the ancient laws; imposed the English ecclesiastical rites; destroyed the ancient monuments, both Roman and native; burned the public registers, and the famous library of Restennoth; and carried off the marble chair, the palladium of the national independence."—History of the Church of Scotland, p. 50. From the perverse zeal of the Romish clergy, too, before the establishment of the Saxon schools, it appears that the early history of Britain suffered as severe a loss as from the barbarous fury of heathen and christian tyrants. On this subject I quote the following passage from Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, page 353:—

[&]quot;'From the time of St. Augustine,' says Rous, (Hist. Reg. Ang. p. 68, 72—3), 'the Bishops of Rome interdicted schools and teaching in England, on account of the heresies constantly springing up there, and this continued to the time of Alfred.' Gregory I. discouraged profine the more to advance sacred learning, and with this intent burat the Palatine library and works of Livy. Gregory followed Arnobius, whose work against gentile superstition clearly inculcated the corruption of christianity by heathen writers. The learned Bruker, in his Critical History of Philosophy, against Bayle and Barbayrac, shows Gregory's conduct to be highly probable, if not certain. These facts are recorded by zealous Romanists. Hence the liberal and ingenious were necessarily driven to Ireland to acquire the rudiments of knowledge, as papal injunctions had no force there. And hence the superiority of the British and Irish clergy in all their disputes with their antagonists about baptism, Easter, &c.; a superiority which so severely galled the Romish party that Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, even against the spirit of his religion and the order of his superiors, was forced to set up schools and promote the study of letters."

under Constantine, it became the established religion of the country.—Thus, it appears, that the figure of the cross cannot be considered an objection to the Roman origin of these obelisks, if the objection be grounded solely on the supposition that the Roman soldiers were exclusively heathens when the Roman armies were in Scotland.*

But, further, this apparent incongruity is explained by the practice of some of the earliest professors of christianity, especially those known under the generic term of Gnostics, a class of heretics, who profanely mixed the doctrines of the gospel with the tenets of the oriental philosophy and religion. This pseudo-christianity was conspicuous in the schools of Alexandria and Greece, where the true religion seems, for the most part, to have been received from motives which would have admitted, with equal readiness, any new pagan superstition, and where its pure doctrines were submitted to the test of philosophical cenceits; the leaders of this sect being theoretical, not practical, christians, adopting many of the rites and doctrines of christianity without surrendering those of the heathen worship. The Gnostics arose mostly in the second contury; their success was rapid and extensive; they covered Asia and Egypt, established themselves in Rome, and spread over France and Spain. At this period they were the most wealthy and distinguished of the christian name; but, after an existence of about two centuries, they were suppressed by the superior ascendant of the reigning power.†

They sprung from the sect of the new Platonists, who, neglecting the whole compass of moral, natural, and mathematical science, attempted to explain the secrets of the invisible world, imagined that they possessed the power of disengaging the soul from the body, claimed a familiar intercourse with spirits and dæmons; and, by a very singular revolution, converted the study of philosophy into that of magic. Among the Gnostics, the Basilidians are stigmatized by the early fathers as pre-eminent for the blasphemous worship of Christ and idols, and

^{*} Tertullian assures us, that in the time of Septimius Severus the christians "filled the armies, senate, and cities of the empire." Many of Alexander Severus' household officers, too, professed the true faith; and in the time of Maximian, the Theban legion was entirely composed of christians.—From the death of Antoninus to the accession of Sep. Severus, there was a space of only 33 years.

⁺ Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 286.

¹ Gibbon, vol., ii. p. 165,

some of their talismans are curiously illustrative of the justness of the charge. On some old seals, Harpocrates and Serapis are represented on one side, with the invocation, Conservate me, on the reverse. Others have a lion's head, near which are the figures of the sun and moon, and several birds, who were supposed to be the angels who presided over these luminaries and the planets. The same deity is seen, also, seated on an ass, with the title, strong and invincible, which they applied to Jehova. Upon this subject, Montfaucon speaks plainly.* "It is certain," he observes, "that the pseudo-christians worshipped the sun, under the two names of Abraxas and Mithras, and that they believed Jesus to be the same with the physical sun. The letters, composing the word, Abraxas, according to the supputation of the Greeks, make the number 365. They are placed as follows, ABRAXAS, and reckon severally, 1, 2, 100, 1, 60, 1, 200. The word, MITHRAS, contains only 360, but if read, MEITHRAS, 365." To the same purpose he also quotes Hadrian's letter to Servianus the consul, in which is this remarkable expression,—"The worshippers of Serapis are christians, and some of the sectaries of that deity, call themselves bishops of Jesus Christ." But the simultaneous worship of Christ and idols, and the practice of magical rites, were not confined to the polite philosophers of the east, they were alike common to all barbarian converts. Procopiust complains, that the Franks, after their conversion, continued to observe many rites of their former superstition. Bedet mentions, that some of the Saxons had, after the manner of the Samaritans of old, in the same temple, an altar dedicated to Christ, and another to idols. From Buchanan, we learn, that the same was the case in Scotland; and from St. Audeon's Life of St. Eloi, bishop of Noyon, we become acquainted with the fact, that, even so late as the seventh century, the ancient heathen deities were commonly worshipped in France.

Among some, even of the Jewish proselytes, there prevailed, in the first century, a community of worship. The first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem were all circumcised jews; and the congregation over which

^{*} Humphrey's Translation, vol. ii. part ii.

¹ Hist. Eccles, lib. ii. ch 15.

[†] Gothic. lib. ii. ch. 25.

[§] Cited by Mr. Ledwich, Antiq. of Ireland.

they presided, united the law of Moses with the doctrine of Christ. Are we to wonder, then, that the Roman soldiers, who were every day witnesses of such a practice, not among the rude and unlettered provincials only, but even in the very centre of philosophical refinement and of christianity, in the Syrian cities of Damascus, Berea, and Antioch, and in those of Asia, mentioned by St. John as the primitive seats of the faith, should follow an example, unfortunately, so general and so highly recommended? That they did so, there is positive evidence in the instance of Alexander Severus, who placed in his domestic chapel, the statues of Abraham, of Orpheus, of Apollonius, and of Christ.* Thus, the union of these symbols, though awfully incompatible, was yet conformable to the practice of many of the first professors of christianity, a practice which arose from their impiously considering divine revelation as a species of natural religion, and thence inferring a connection between the author of our holy faith and the gross object of their base idolatry.

In the second place, this anomaly is explained by some upon the supposition, that the figure of the cross was added afterwards, in times posterior to the universal acceptance by the Scottish nation of the christian faith. In those days there was no covered temple, and the converts assembled statedly at such places as possessed some remarkable object well known to the inhabitants of certain districts of the country; for, as yet, it was not divided into parishes or dioceses, Malcolm III. being the first who set limits to the jurisdiction of the bishops, who, together with the inferior clergy, were hitherto itinerant preachers. The remarkable objects, which fixed the place of congregation, were, the circle of stones, old fort, tower, or obelisk, whose purity was renewed, and whose future sanctity was confirmed by consecration with the sign or badge of the new faith.

Thus, in no point of view is there to be discovered a solid objection to the Roman origin of these curious and singular remains.

Having thus mentioned some of the principal Mithratic monuments, which have been found in our island, I have next to show the

[#] Gibban, vol. ii. p. 450.

correspondence between the places where they were discovered and the stations of the sixth legion in its progress through Britain, from the east, until its final settlement at York.

From a passage in Tacitus,* part of which was given above, it appears, that this legion was in Syria, in the reign of Nero. How long before it may not be material to enquire. The consecutive part of the passage is to the following effect:—"Commotions, about the same time, broke out in Dacia; and, since the legions were withdrawn from Mæsia, there remained no force to hold the people in subjection. They had the policy, however, to watch, in silence, the first movements of civil discord among the Romans. Seeing, at length, that Italy was in a blaze, they seized their opportunity, and stormed the winter quarters of the cohorts and cavalry. Having made themselves masters of both banks of the Danube, they were preparing to raze to the ground the camp of the legions, when Mucianus, apprised of the victory at Cremona, sent the sixth legion to check the invasions of the enemy. The good fortune, that had often favoured the Roman arms, brought Mucianus, with the forces of the east, to quell the insurrection," &c.

As the sixth legion was despatched on the spur of the moment, and before other forces could be collected, it would seem to have been at head-quarters or in the immediate neighbourhood, in Syria, where the third had learnt the worship of the sun, and not farther to the eastward, or in Judea under Titus, to whom his father Vespasian had just committed the conduct of the siege of Jerusalem. Upon the termination of the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the legions, who had fought at Cremona, were dispersed by Mucianus into several provinces, and it seems he was in the more haste to do this, from the attachment of several to Antonius Primus and Varus, his rivals in the emperor's favour. Accordingly, the seventh was sent into winter quarters, in Italy; the third was sent back to Syria; and the rebellion of Civilis (a German), who was at that time endeavouring to erect the provinces of Gaul and Germany into an independent kingdom, was made a pretext for marching the sixth, and eighth, into Germany. We hear no more

of the sixth legion until its arrival in Britain, under the command of Hadrian, about the year 121. Their first service in this country appears to have been in Scotland and the north of England, particularly in the erection of the walls and other works.

"The legions," says Horsley, "which continued long in Britain, were jointly employed in carrying on the works in this island, they jointly built the wall in Scotland, and those in the north of England. legions and legionary cohorts seem to have been the only soldiers, who were employed usually in erecting forts and fences, and among all the inscriptions found upon the Roman wall in Scotland, there is but one, at most, that mentions any auxiliary cohort as having a hand in the work. Several inscriptions, in Northumberland and Cumberland, show the sixth legion to have been at Stanwicks, Cambeck-Fort, Burdoswald, Little Chesters, and House-Steads. In the former part of Antoninus' reign they were in Scotland, and had their share in building the wall there. After their return from Scotland, and about the middle of Antoninus' reign, they were settled at York; for Ptolemy places them there, where, it would seem, they continued to the last, as its head-quarters, from whence some cohorts were occasionally sent out."* Gordon presents us with additional testimony to the fact of their having worked upon the wall of Antoninus in the following inscription, which was dug out of this wall, and presented to the University of Glasgow in the year 1695.†

"Imperatori Cæsari Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino Augusto, Patri Patriæ Vexillatio - Sextæ Victricis perfecit Opus Valli per Passus Quatuor Mille Centum Quadraginta Unum."

The same author informs us, that there are many inscriptions to Hadrian in the north of Scotland, and that some stones with inscriptions have been found, showing that the sixth legion lay near Craw-Hill Town, upon this wall.

In Stukeley's account of a Roman temple, mentioned above, there are two inscriptions, which show, that this legion made, at one time,

^{*} Britannia Romana, p. 77-79.

[†] Itinerar. Septentrionale, p. 62.

four miles, a hundred and forty-one paces, of this wall; at another, three miles, six hundred and sixty-six paces, additional. It is proper to observe also, that it was in the line of this wall that the Roman temple, mentioned and described by this author, and commonly called Arthur's Oven, stood, which, from the description, appears to have resembled so closely the old circular temple of Vesta, mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Numa, and the ancient round temple of the sun in Thrace, noticed by Macrobius (Saturn, i. 18), in the centre of whose dome there was an aperture to admit the light, that there seems scarcely room to doubt of its having been a chapel dedicated to the worship of the same divinity. We have the authority of Mr. Horsley, also, for the fact, that this legion worked likewise upon the wall of Severus.*

Upon the whole of these facts I have to observe, in the first place, that the progress of the sixth legion has been distinctly traced from Syria, northward, through Spain and Germany to Britain; and in Britain, through the several stations in which the above mentioned Mithratic monuments were found; first, to the wall of Antoninus, where Arthur's Oven stood, and where Gordon found the phallic symbol; then, along the wall of Severus which crosses Northumberland and Cumberland, where the several monuments described in the Archaeologia Aeliana, and the altars dedicated to the god Belatucadro were discovered; and, lastly, to York, where the Taurine Tablet was dug up, and where also stood a temple of Bellona,† a personification of the sun, according to

That Cybele and Bellona are the same deity, and types of the sun, might be easily proved from a comparison of their rites, symbols, and character of their priests, but the trouble and space which this

^{*} Britannia Romana, p. 79.

[†] Bellona is the Latin appellation for Enyo of the Greeks, the sister or wife of Mars. Hence she was esteemed by the Romans, originally, as the goddess of war. It appears they had adopted her very early, while they yet retained the worship of the ancient divinities of the country, for, in the speech of Decius Mus, when he devoted himself to the gods for the safety of his country, during a battle with the Latins in the year 337 B.C., she is called upon by name, together with Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, the Lares, and the gods Novensiles and Indigites (Livy, viii. 9.). The same author mentions an appeal to her as Bellona the Victorious, in a battle fought about the year 296 B. C. (lib. x. 19.). During the commonwealth, while the simplicity of ancient worship continued, it seems she was known and adored as the arbitress of battles only, since we find the worship of Cybele, who is the same divinity, introduced from Pessinus in Phrygia, by order of the Sibylline books, 120 years after the earliest of the above dates.

Mr. Bryant, who derives the name from Bel and On, two eastern terms for this luminary. Considering the distance of time, this must be esteemed a very extraordinary agreement between history and monumental records.

Secondly, from Gordon's information that many stones, with inscriptions to Hadrian, were found in the north of Scotland, it would seem, (as this emperor was especially commemorated in Britain by the sixth legion,) that this legion was in Vespasiana, probably occupying, in part, the chain of stations mentioned by Whitaker as extending from the Friths to Inverness; certainly, in the army of Lollius Urbicus, during his war with the Caledonians, and, therefore, in all probability, had a share in raising the obelisks found in that province.

Thirdly, as we find that this legion assisted in building the stone wall of Severus, in the beginning of the 3rd century, we must allow that it composed part of the army which this emperor conducted against the Scots and Picts; and as his campaigns in the north occupied the three or four last years of his life, it follows that it was not permanently settled

would occupy, are saved by the following passage from the Metamorphoses of Apuleius, where the moon is introduced as addressing the metamorphosed author thus:—"Behold, Lucius, moved with thy supplications, I am present; I, who am Nature, the parent of all things, queen of the elements, first progenitor of ages, the highest of divinities, queen of departed spirits, first of celestials, and the uniform appearance of gods and goddesses, who rule, by my nod, the luminous heights of the heavens, the salubrious breezes of the sea, and the silences of the infernal regions, and whose divinity, in itself but one, is venerated by all the earth, according to a multiform shape, various rites, and different appellations. Hence the primitive Phrygians call me Pessinuntica, the mother of the gods; the native Athenians, Cecropian Minerva; the floating Cyprians, Paphian Venus; the Cretans, Dictynnian Diana; the three-tongued Sicilians, Stygian Proserpine; and the inhabitants of Eleusis, the ancient goddess Ceres. Some, again, have invoked me as Juno, others as Hecate, others as Bellona, and others as Rhamnusia; and those who are enlightened by the rays of the rising sun, the Ethiopians, Arrians, and Egyptians, powerful in ancient learning, who reverence my divinity with ceremonies perfectly proper, call me by a true appellation, Queen Isis."

Nothing can be more satisfactory of the identity of Isis, Cybele, and Bellona, and, as the same deity was of both genders, of these with Mithras or the Sun. At a time, then, when the worship of the sun prevailed universally among the Romans, when all distinction of deity had merged in this one gross object of idolatry, the temple of Bellona, at York, in the time of Severus, must have been a temple in honour of this deity, the Lord of Day. And as the porch of St. Margaret's has been proved to have belonged to one of this description, there exists the greatest degree of probability, especially from the representation of this emperor, which it still bears, as will be mentioned hereafter, that it is actually part of that very temple.—How much does this discovery enhance its interest and our respect!

at York till about fifty years after the time assigned by the author of the Britannia Romana. Hence we obtain a period, that will admit of its domestication in the neighbourhood of the walls, and consequently account, satisfactorily, for the construction of those durable places of worship, and sacred monuments, which have from time to time been discovered in their vicinity.

In conclusion of this part of the intrinsic evidence, I have only to mention, that a few instances occur, both in this country and on the continent, where a single sign, or small groups of two or three, are to be seen scattered among the ornaments of some churches, baptismal fonts, and sepulchral monuments, of the Saxon and middle ages. Iffley church, near Oxford, and that of Montevilliers, in Normandy, where the pillars are ornamented with clusters of Sagittaries, are the most striking examples at present within my recollection in regard to the signs. But other Roman devices, or grotesques, as they are now termed, are to be met with on the friezes of the north and south parts of Adderbury church, Oxfordshire, and on the undercroft of the French church at Canterbury, supposed by some to have been part of a Roman temple sacred to Isis. They have also been noticed on the frieze of the pulpit of the church of St. Laurence, without the walls of Rome; and on the door-way in the west front of Kenilworth church, near Coventry. Most of these are, unquestionably, immemorial fabrics, erected, at least in part, either by Roman heathens, or by the earliest Saxon christians, who imitated for the sole purpose of decoration, the mythological figures of their prede-That this was the case is evident from the capricious disposal of some of the signs, singly, or in small groups, among the other sculptures, and from the singular fact that on no church, originally christian, is the whole number of the signs to be seen, either in consecutive order, or dispersed among the mouldings; of which any one may easily satisfy himself, by an inspection of such churches themselves, or the engravings of them in architectural works.

This partial use, and whimsical arrangement, are obvious in every existing instance; and prove that embellishment alone was the point in view, and that their astronomical and mythological import was as little

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apprehended by the Saxon prelates, as by the Scots and Picts. Before their days their countrymen on the continent had subverted the Western empire, and with it the ancient religious institutions of Italy, which were slowly expiring before the light of the gospel. In Britain, the same salutary service was performed about the same time, and the remains of an impure and cruel idolatry, the peculiar disgrace of mankind from the flood to the time when the Goths emerged from their native forests to vindicate the honour of God and of human nature, were eradicated for ever in the savage work of extermination.

Those, who shudder at the accounts of the blood which they shed, and the desolation they occasioned, ought to reflect on the high purpose to which they were destined, that, like the Hebrews of old, they were the avengers of nations defiled with blood and wallowing in pollution, practising the identical abominations for which the aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan were "spued out" by the land itself—agents in the hand of divine Providence, to root out, within the sphere of their action, a moral poison, which had contaminated the whole earth, and thus to prepare the way more effectually for the establishment of a pure system of religion and morals, and of constitutions of civil polity more consistent with the dignity of man.

It was then that the worship of the sun was extinguished throughout the greater part of Europe and eastern coast of Africa, all memorial of it being swept away in the flood of northern invasion. What escaped the Goths, Vandals, and Saxons, was met by the Northmen or Danes, who continued the work of destruction, until the final triumph of christianity in the west by their own acknowledgment of its influence.

In the mean time, another people were appointed to fulfil the same purpose in the east, and the Saracens, with an impetuosity surpassing that of the Goths, and with an enthusiasm which they did not feel, dissolved the ancient systems that still lingered among the nations composing the eastern empire, which, together with Arabia, Persia, and the greater part of Hindoostan, they thoroughly cleansed from the mire of this most offensive superstition.

The original import of the signs, as objects of idolatrous worship,

perished in this general dissolution of the civil and religious systems of antiquity. On the revival of learning in Europe, they were again introduced to notice, as marks or signs of the several divisions of the zodiac; to which purpose, agreeably to the creed of the times, they had very appropriately been applied by the Greek astronomers, from whose works they were copied both by Arabian and European writers on this science, and who, ignorant of their genuine signification, simply followed them in this inoffensive application of these figures. It does not appear, that any of the Greek authors alluded to has explained whence they derived these figures, or hinted at their mystic character; since it is still a matter of much difficulty to trace their derivation, even with the assistance of elaborate treatises on ancient mythology, owing chiefly to the endless transformations to which all the heathen deities were subjected in classic times, which confused to perplexity the simple theogonies of the heroic ages.

I now come to the second part of the intrinsic evidence, which will detain us but a moment as it requires no comment. It is included in Mr. Carter's description of a monument brought from the wall of Severus by Sir Robert Cotton, and now in Trinity College, Cambridge. It is a basso-relievo, with the inscription "Numinibus Augustorum Cohors III. Gallorum Equitum Fecit."

Of this monument, Mr. Carter says, "We may notice, that the octagonal wreath, in the centre, has four different ornaments, each of which is repeated; these varieties consist of quilochi, the laurel-leaf, with and without berries, and the oak-leaf; each division is tied with a riband.

"On each side of the tablet are shields, above which are heads; that on the left presents at once three faces, one front and two profiles; below them are snakes twisted into the ornamental true lover's knot. In the arched recess on the left, is a winged victory, with the usual symbols, the palm-branch, laurel wreath, and globe under one foot; in the compartment below, is a stork, &c.; in the nich on the right is a statue, in the full warlike dress of the Romans. In the compartment below the last figure, is another representation of a stork, with a vase,

&c. This subject is likewise carved on the arch of the grand porch of St. Margaret's church, York; which porch was originally brought from a building of a very remote date, and, from its general design, nearly of Roman workmanship. Horsley supposed the emperors commemorated in the inscription to be Severus and Caracalla."*

This is positive testimony, of great importance even if it stood alone, but its additional evidence discloses so entirely the value of the preceding observations on the nature and derivation of the signs on ancient British monuments, as to raise the whole argument to a demonstration that this porch is not *nearly* (an unmeaning term as applied by Mr. Carter) but absolutely of Roman workmanship, and originally designed as part of a temple of Mithras, or the Sun, whose worship anciently constituted the established religion of this celebrated city.

For the preservation of this interesting monument to our times, I can only plead the good fortune which favoured others until lately, and some even to the present day; such as the heathen chapel of Ethelbert; the Pharos, in Dover Castle; the temple of Janus, at Leicester; the amphitheatre, at Dorchester; Richborough Castle; Worth-gate, at Canterbury; and New-Port-gate, at Lincoln.

York is said to have had a large share in the disasters, which befel the country immediately after the departure of the Romans, and were we to believe implicitly all that is related upon this head, no argument whatever could satisfy us that any monument, now within it, belongs to a period so distant as that which I have assigned to the one in question. I shall endeavour to remove this oblique objection, by one or two observations on a passage to this effect, in the *Britannia* of Camden, which I have purposely selected as that of the greatest weight.

"At the conclusion of the Scotch and Saxon wars," says this author, "little more than the shadow of the former greatness of York remained, and so completely were the buildings destroyed, that Paulinus, in 627, could not find in the whole city a church wherein to baptize king Edwin, in consequence of which, according to Bede, he was obliged to construct one of whattles for the purpose."

^{*} Ancient Architecture of England, part i.

But this assertion is refuted, first, by Mr. Bentham, who observes, that Bede's wooden oratory was built on the spur of the occasion, a mere temporary expedient; and, that the Saxons, at the time of their conversion, must have learnt the art of building stone edifices with columns and arches, because they had many instances of such kind of buildings before them, in the churches and other public edifices, erected by the Romans. "For, notwithstanding," he adds, "the havock, that had been made of the christian churches, by the Picts and Scots, and by the Saxons themselves, some of them were then in being. Bede mentions two in Canterbury, besides which, it is likely, there were others of the same age, in different parts of the kingdom, which were then repaired and restored to their former use."*

Secondly, by the rescript of Gregory the Great, who interposed inbehalf of the pagan temples, and by the rite of consecration appeared and reconciled the converted Saxons to their use.

Thirdly, by a passage in *Doomsday-Book*, quoted by Camden himself,† which states, that "in the Confessor's time, there were in this city, six scyræ or divisions, besides the archbishops. One is laid waste for castles. In the other five were 1418 houses inhabited, and in the archbishop's, 200."

Lastly, by Caxton, who states, in his *Polychronicon*, that before York was destroyed by William the Conqueror, "it seemed as fair as the city of Rome from the beauty and magnificence of the buildings."

Whence, then, did York derive this magnificence which it exhibited in the beginning of the eleventh century? According to Bede and Camden, it must have proceeded from the efforts of the Saxons or Danes, for they allow nothing to have descended to so late a period from the Romans. But we have seen, that, for nearly two hundred years after their arrival, the Saxons were rude and unlettered barbarians, strangers to the arts, and enemies to civilization; and that, after their conversion, they were, as a nation, alike ignorant and regardless of civil architecture, being, for the most part, dispersed in small village communities, in preference to the more extended associations of large towns. The

^{*} Introd. to the History of Ely Cathedral, sec. 5th. + Britannia, vol. iii.

unsettled state of the country during the Danish dynasty, which may be said to have been a period of continued civil war between two barbarous people, will not allow us to suppose, that the arts of civil life were then carried to any measure of extent in England, or arose to any degree above the wants and capacities of savage freebooters. The appearance of York at the conquest, therefore, must be ascribed to the superior taste and refinement of its more ancient, powerful, and civilized inhabitants, with whose institutions and moral condition it alone corresponded. Thus, there is no reason for believing in so complete a demolition of public edifices in the year 627, as Bede has represented, but rather, that many continued to adorn it throughout the Saxon period of English history. It appears that in the year 1070, the Conqueror visited this city, with great severity, as a punishment for the treachery of the inhabitants, who had, but a short time before, made a voluntary surrender of it to the Normans. The historians of this transaction represent William as at this time the equal of Cambyses, in the madness of his fury, totally destroying all the noble remains of antiquity which still continued to adorn it; and the parallel between the Norman and the Persian seems continued into the description of the remote consequences, for it is asserted, that the city and adjacent country lay desolate for forty years afterwards. Such, however, are the warm but vague expressions of monkish historians, who record every capture of this city in nearly similar terms. It is enough for the present purpose, that, after this storm, the porch emerges from the mist of antiquity as the hallowed adjunct of a christian church, which, though of humble note, is yet deserving of especial remembrance for the shelter it afforded, for centuries, to this beautiful memorial of the first age of the arts in Britain. In the year 1644, the period of its first notice, by history, it escaped more imminent danger than in 1070, from the cannon of the parliamentary army, which played against the quarter of the town where it then stood, and demolished the edifice to which it belonged. After this event, we trace it to St. Margaret's church, to which it still continues attached, but under circumstances which excite deep regret, as it is there exposed to certain destruction, not so much

from the slow operation of time and weather, as from the distressing accidents which occasionally arise from the gambols of the rabble youth who frequently play around and within it, proofs of which I have witnessed with sorrow.

Upon the whole, if the above arguments are well founded, it follows that the citizens of York possess within their walls, a very beautiful remain of an ancient temple of the Sun, a unique in Britain, perhaps in Europe, and a monument which would, it seems, be highly prized in France, where, even single figures of the signs are carefully laid up in museums. Should its future preservation ever become an object worthy of particular consideration, I beg leave to suggest the minster as its most proper asylum, for, as a consecrated relic, and specimen of art, it will reflect neither on the piety nor taste of those, who may be disposed to vote it a place among the glories of that wondrous pile.

Observations on some Roman Altars and Inscriptions, erected by a Cohort of the Tungri, and found at Castle-Steeds, or Cambeck Fort, in Cumberland, by Mr. Thomas Hodgson.

It is well known to all, who are any way conversant with the Roman antiquities of this part of the island, that Mr. Horsley, from two imperfect inscriptions given by Camden in his Britannia, was induced to believe, that the station of Castle-Steeds, or Cambeck Fort, situated on the Wall, not far from Brampton, and to which he assigned the name of Petrianae, was for a short time garrisoned by the Cohors Prima Tungrorum, before that cohort removed to its long-established quarters at House-Steeds. Considerable doubt has been thrown upon the accuracy of this opinion by two curious and interesting altars, which, since the publication of the Britannia Romana, have been found at Castle-Steeds. The first of these altars was recovered in the year 1741; it had been found about 40 years before the publication of Mr. Horsley's work, but was almost immediately sunk in a weir, which was at that time making in the river Irthing. On that weir undergoing some repair in the above year, orders were given by Mrs. Appleby, the then proprietress of the station, that this altar should be sought for, and, if possible, recovered. This search was made, and was happily attended with success. A drawing of this altar was in the following year communicated to the public, through the medium of the Gentleman's Magazine, by Mr. Smith. Figures of it have since been published in several works,* but the most correct one will be found in the eleventh volume of the Archaeologia, pl.

^{*} Brand's Hist. of Newcastle, vol. i. p. 614. Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, vol. i. Castle-Steeds plate, no. i. fig. 14. Gough's Camden's Britannia, vol. iii. pl. xiii. fig. 13. ed. 1789.

vi. fig. 21, accompanied with a short explanation by the late Rev. J. D. Carlisle, in whose possession it then was.* The other altar, which I have mentioned, has been found only within the last few years (in 1818, I believe), and has never, that I know of, been published.† It was communicated in that year to James Losh, Esq. one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society, by Miss Carlyle. It was found near Castle-Steeds, and is now in the possession of William P. Johnson, Esq. of Walton House. The inscription upon it is most fortunately perfect, and in consequence most satisfactorily illustrates some parts of the inscription upon the other altar, which were rather obscure. As its substance, however, is fully contained in the first inscription, and as the examination of this will completely explain all the difficulties of the second inscription, I shall confine my observations principally to the first one.

The first altar was no sooner published, than it gave rise to much learned discussion amongst the antiquaries of that day; the principal of their remarks I shall notice as I proceed.

Though the top of this altar is broken, there can be no doubt, from the fulmen on its side, that, like the second one, it was dedicated Jovi optimo maximo; and of the second line sufficient remains to shew, that it should be read Et Numinibus Augusti Nostri. Thus far all writers spoke with confidence; but the next line making mention of an auxiliary cohort not noticed in the Notitia, nor in any of the inscriptions contained in the Britannia Romana, was not received without some hesitation. The double numeral was, however, too distinctly cut and too well preserved to admit of a doubt; and scholars soon found, that Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, had expressly mentioned the presence of two cohorts of the Tungri in Britain. Speaking of the battle with Galgacus. " Agricola," says he, " tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent," &c. Inscriptions mentioning the second cohort of the *Tungri*, have also since been found. at Middleby in Scotland, as may be seen in the Appendix to Pennant's Tour in Scotland, 1772.‡ And if any doubt had remained respecting this

^{*} It is now in the possession of Miss Carlyle, of Carlisle, subsequently mentioned in the text.

[†] See plate i. fig 1.

¹ Part ii. p. 408.

cohort, it would be completely removed by the last found altar, on which the name and number are perfectly distinct. This well-established fact makes the alleged circumstance of this fort having been at one time garrisoned by the Cohors prima Tungrorum extremely problematical. Mr. Horsley, it is well known, was induced to adopt this opinion, from the name of this cohort being apparently expressed in two inscriptions published by Camden, the originals of which are now lost; but an examination of the figures, as given by Mr. Hutchinson, will shew that each of them has received such an injury in its centre, as renders it extremely probable, that part of the numeral has been obliterated in the one, and part of the H of coh. for Cohors in the other, and that hence these two stones were in fact erected by the Cohors secunda, and not the Cohors prima,—a probability, which in the sequel I shall, I trust, be able more fully to establish.

The letters con. following the name of the cohort, are, with much probability, taken by all writers to signify Gordiana,—an epithet assumed by, or conferred on, this cohort, in token of its attachment to the Emperor Gordian, in the same manner as was done in the case of the Cohors I. Alia Dacorum, which garrisoned the neighbouring station of Burdoswald. The next letters Ec. with the monogram ∞ , which the sculptor has apparently omitted on cutting the line, and been afterwards obliged to insert in the space above, at first gave rise to some difference of opinion, but are now generally allowed to signify milliaria equitata. Mr. Smith was disposed to read them, mille equitum, † and the learned Professor Ward, millenaria equitum, t but not only is there no authority for these readings, but the cohors milliaria equitata is expressly mentioned and described by those writers, who treat of the military affairs of the Romans. though I cannot appeal to any inscription, in which, to my knowledge, these words are jointly expressed in words at length, yet so many inscriptions occur in Gruter mentioning both the eohors milliaria, and the cohors equitata, || as to leave no doubt that these two words are the correct

^{*} Hist of Cumb. vol. i. Cast. St. pl. no. i. fig. 11. and p. 108.

† Gent. Mag. vol. xii. p. 30.

† Gent. Mag. vol. xii. p. 135.

In CII. 3. we meet with com. I. MILLIARIAE DALMATARVM; and in some which will be noted here-

terms of the description of cohorts under consideration. In the Notitia too, both the cohors milliaria and the cohors equitata are expressly mentioned. According both to Hyginus and Vegetius, the first cohort of a legion, in the times of the lower empire, was called milliaria, from its being stronger than any cohort of the legion, and from its generally consisting of about 1000 men; and it was further called equitata when it contained a certain number of horse. Hyginus (De Castrametatione) informs us, that the Cohors equitata milliaria consisted of 760 foot soldiers formed into 10 centuries, and 240 horsemen formed into 10 turmae.* It contained within itself, therefore, a due proportion of both kinds of force, and seems to have been particularly well adapted for the garrisoning of a station like Castle-Steeds, situated in an open country, and liable to the frequent inroads of an enemy. The description here given of the cohors milliaria, may not at first sight, perhaps, appear applicable to the cohort now under consideration, from the circumstance of its being the second, and not the first, cohort of the Tungri; but it should be recollected, that it is an auxiliary, and not a legionary, cohort; and, as is well observed by Mr. Gale, "though the second of the Tungri, it might yet be the first, or milliary, cohort of the auxiliary legion to which it belonged." And there is no reason to suppose that all the cohorts of the same nation were contained in the same legion, any more than that all the battalions of the same regiment are now-a-days always comprised in the same brigade; on the contrary there is abundant evidence, that they were often separated, and even employed in different countries and services.

Turning now to the principal inscription recorded by Camden to have been found at this place, it is highly pleasing to observe how easily and satisfactorily the information, which we have now acquired, elucidates that inscription, and removes the difficulty which Mr. Horsley' found in its explanation. By the simple prefixing of an m before the letters ILEC, which he was inclined to think might be the name of a place, these to after equitatae occurs at length. I can find no inscription in Gruter in which equitata is accompanied with millieria either contracted or at length, nor yet expressed by its monogram as in this instance.

^{*} Habet cohors equitata milliaria pedites septingentos sexaginta, centurias decem, equites dusentos quadringinta, turmas decem.

⁺ See his Britannia Romana, p. 264.

him untoward letters naturally resolve themselves into MIL. EC. or EQ. evidently the contractions of the words milliaria equitata. If we are satisfied of this, we can have little difficulty in believing that the numeral in the preceding line has been II. and not I.; for it was the secunda, and not the prima, Cohors Tungrorum, which was milliaria equitata. The presence of the latter at House-Steeds is well authenticated by a long series of inscriptions, and in not one of these is it ever described as of that kind. This inscription will then, like the two others, read—

Jovi optimo maximo Cohors secunda Tungrorum milliaria equitata.

And if we wanted a further proof, that this altar had been erected by the second cohort of the Tungri, we should find it in the letters c. L., which follow the letters ILEC, and which occur in both the others in precisely the same situation. For though these letters are nearly defaced on the principal altar, and so ill defined that Mr. Carlisle was induced to read them FID. for fida, yet those who saw the altar at the time of its recovery, all concurred in reading them c. L.; and they are so plain and distinct upon the second altar, that it is impossible to hesitate in supposing, that those individuals read them correctly. The signification of these letters I cannot but consider as somewhat obscure and uncer-They have generally been supposed to be numerals, but a wellgrounded doubt may, I think, be entertained upon the subject. Smith is almost the only one, who has not taken them for numerals, and he is disposed to read them Cataphractariorum Legioni; although he acknowledges that he is not aware that "the Cataphractarii were ever formed into regular cohorts," and appears, besides, to be not very well satisfied with this explanation. Both Professor Ward* and Mr. R. Galet looked upon them as numerals. They were induced to do so by the following passage of Vegetius. Speaking of the first cohort of a legion, he says, "Habet pedites mille centum quinque, equites loricatos centum triginta duos, et appellatur cohors milliaria." The number of horse here mentioned not agreeing with the numerals, which it was wished to find

[#] Gent. Mag. vol. xii. 1742. p. 135. + Hutchinson's Cumberland, vol. i. p. 110—112. ‡ Lib. ii. c. 6.

expressed upon this altar, Professor Ward endeavours to account for this difference by observing that "under the lower Emperors, and especially in the provinces, it seems by inscriptions, as if those numbers were not always regularly observed. And therefore, as this second cohort, which was honoured with the name of the Emperor, exceeded the common number both in the foot and the horse,—might possibly occasion its being particularly mentioned." Mr. Gale expresses himself to the same effect; but unfortunately for this opinion, it is impossible to suppose, that the mere possession of the extra number of 18 troopers would either be considered so extraordinary a circumstance, or so great a distinction as to be particularly recorded on all their inscriptions. Why, moreover, should the number of the horsemen be mentioned, and those of the foot-soldiers of the cohort be passed unnoticed? A very short space of time, too, it may be supposed, would suffice to destroy the distinction arising from these 18 additional horsemen, for the cohort could scarcely for any long continuance be kept up to its full complement; and yet these letters are found upon their inscriptions during the command of three different Besides Vegetius, in the passage referred to, is describing the Cohors milliaria, or 1st cohort of a legion, and not the Cohors milliaria equitata, to which, as we have seen, Hyginus ascribes a very different proportion of horse and foot; and as Vegetius wrote only a very short time before the date of the Notitia, and consequently nearly 200 years after the time to which these inscriptions refer—a lapse of time in which we may reasonably suppose some alteration took place in the constitution of the Roman armies,—there is great probability, that his description has but little application to the cohort now under discussion. These considerations are, I think, sufficient to convince us, that these letters cannot be numerals; and what is a further proof to my mind that they are not, I found, on examining further, that almost every Cohors equitata had letters, corresponding with these, attached to its name. Thus in an inscription, found at Riechester, near Elsdon, we have con. 1. FID. VARDVL. ∞ EQ. C. R.: in Gruter, CCCCLIX. 9, we meet with con. 1. AFR. c. r. eq.; in ccclxxxviii. 3, coh. iii. astvr. eq. c. r.; in xiiii. 9. coh. IIII. A. Q. EQ. C. P. The C. R. in the Riechester inscription is read by

Dr. Taylor, Civium Romanorum, and this reading is generally acquiesced Indeed it almost seems warranted by some inscriptions in Gruter; in one of which for instance (MCVIII. 5), we find COH. PRIMAE EQUITATAE CIV. ROMAN; in another (CCCCXCVIII, 13), COH. II. C. R. which by a third inscription (ccccxxxix, 2), seems probable should be read Civium Romanorum, since in that we find in words at full length PRAEFECTO COHORTIS SECUNDAE CIVIUM ROMANOR. It from hence, I think, seems most probable that the c. in this case should be read Civium, and by analogy that the L. should be read Latinorum. The citizens of Latium, it is well known, enjoyed nearly equal privileges with those of Rome. They served as allies in her army, and constituted the principal part of its strength. We learn from Livy that they sometimes furnished two-thirds of the cavalry and also of the infantry; but, as Sallust informs us, were not embodied in the legions.† From this description of them, there is, I think, no incongruity in supposing that a body of them, or of soldiers on whom the privileges of Latium had been conferred, might be attached to a cohort of another country.

The words which immediately follow c. L., are evidently cui pracest, followed by the name of the Prefect. The name upon the larger altar has become so obliterated as to render it uncertain. It was supposed by Mr. Smith, judging from the traces of the letters, that it had been Sicilius Claudianus. As this name is as probable as any other, and as Mr. Smith had the earliest and best opportunities for examination, it may as well be adopted. The PRAEF. after his name there can be no doubt is the contraction of Pracefectus.

The words succeeding PRAEF. have been read generally instante Aelio Martino Principe,—a reading, which I have no doubt is perfectly correct, though I cannot agree with the explanation which has been given of these words. Instante, say both Mr. Ward and Mr. Gale, is the same as curante; but this I take to be an opinion not exactly warranted by inscriptions. From these it appears to me that by cura or curans, is expressed one species of duty, and by instans, another and inferior duty. The former terms seem to have been applied to those, who gave orders,

^{*} Liv. iii. 22, 17, et alibi passim.

or provided the necessary funds, for the erection of any work; and the latter to those, on whom devolved the duty of carrying the others' directions into execution, and of superintending the progress of the work.* Thus in an inscription found at Netherby, recording the erection of an equestrian Basilica, it is said to have been, per Curam Marii Valeriani Legati Augustalis Propraetoris, instante M. Aurelio Salvio Tribuno Cohortis; † and again, in the inscription found at Walwich Chesters, ‡ records the erection of some building, per Marium Valerianum, &c. instante Septimio Nilo, Praesecto.—But this, perhaps, is not of much moment. Neither can I agree, that the name of the person, who performed the duty instans, in the case of the altar before us, was Aelius Martinus Princeps. The oceurrence of "Princeps" as a proper name in Gruter, has been deemed by all, who have ever noticed this inscription, as a certain proof that it is also a proper name in this instance. Of the accuracy of this reading. however, I always entertained the strongest doubts. 1st. Because there is nothing to inform us who this Martinus Princeps was; and I thought it strange that in an inscription which declares that Claudianus, the commander of the cohort, was its Prefect, the rank of the person who discharged the duty instans should not be stated, as in other inscriptions. 2d. Because I considered the contraction of *Princeps* irreconcileable with this reading, for I believe it will be found upon examination, that the contraction of a nomen, much less of a cognomen, excepting the common termination us, is of extremely rare occurrence, especially on large inscriptions like the present, and that it ought not to be suspected here where Claudianus and Martino are both inserted at length. 3d. As the contraction PRAEF. is the only one in this combination of words to which that of PRINC. is analogous, I thought it possible that these two words might also be analogous in their meaning. 4thly. On examining the inscription published by Camden, I found, though the latter part of it is much defaced, sufficient to convince me, that its concluding word was also Principe, used as the cognomen, or designation of a person, whose

^{*} Pliny, Panagyr. c. 18-speaking of the officers who directed the soldiers to work, uses the expression, "instant operibue."

⁺ Hutchinson's History of Cumbelrland, vol. ii. Netherby pl. fig. 1. # Arch. Aslians, vol. i. p. 129.

preceding name is illegible, but evidently not Ael. Martinus, and who had also performed the duty instante; and I thought it extremely improbable that there should have been two persons of the same cognomen, who should at different times, (for it is evident that the inscription in Camden refers to a period, when the Cohort was commanded by a different Prefect), have performed the same duty of instante. On the perusal of the inscription, on the last found altar, however, I felt this doubt strengthened into certainty, for I considered it to be impossible that the duty in question, could, at three different times, have devolved upon three different persons, each bearing the cognomen of Princeps; and I thought it much more probable, that this duty should have devolved upon these three persons, because they had each, at different times, filled the same office, the proper designation of which was Princeps. In this conjecture, I have been fully confirmed by an inscription which I have since met with in Gruter,—p. cccxlvii, no. 1. It commences thus:

P. AELIO. P. F. PAPIR

MARCELLO. CENT

FRVM. SVB. PRINCIPE

PEREGRINORVM. ADSTATO (hastato)

ET PRINCIPI. ET PRIMIPILO

LEG. VII. GEM. PIAE FEL. &C.

This inscription will be best explained by the quotation of a passage from Manutius.* "In a legion," says he, "there were three kinds of foot soldiers, hastati, principes, and triarii; and in each there were ten centurions, who were called the 1st hastatus, 2d hastatus, 3d, &c. and so on up to the 10th; 1st princeps, 2d, and so on; but the triarii, the bravest of all, were named in a different manner, for they did not call them 1st triarius, but primipilus, or primipili centurio." A portion of each of these descriptions of soldiers was, as is well known, contained

^{*} Erat primipilus summus ordo inter pedites legionarios: nam in legione tria peditum genera erant hastati, principes, triarii; et in singulis deni centuriones, his nominibus, primus hastatus, secundus hastatus, tertius usque ad decimum; primus princeps, secundus, et similiter; in triariis, omnium fortissimis alia ratio; non enim dicebant, primus triarius, sed primipilus, aut primipili centurio; priscis autem temporibus primus centurio.—Massut.

within each Cohort, and the auxiliary Cohorts were formed upon the same model as the legionary.

Having thus, in general terms, proved the existence of the term princeps, as the title of an officer in the Roman army, I know not that more is required of me, though it may perhaps be expected by some, that I should point out its particular application in the present instance, and why the duty instante should devolve upon the princeps, in preference to any other officer. But this I am unable to do, and it must be evident that this would require an intimate knowledge of the internal construction and arrangement of the cohors milliaria equitata, and perhaps of this very cohort in particular, and I am not aware of any source from which such a knowledge can be derived. Several conjectures have certainly suggested themselves to my mind, but I conceive it of no use to trouble the Society with them.

The remaining part of the inscription presents little difficulty with respect to the reading of it,—it being evident that it records the date of the erection of this altar. The small I in the belly of the L is generally taken to be the initial letter of the name of the month, which of course must be one of those beginning with J. These lines may therefore be read, decimo kalendarum J----, Imperatore Domino nostro Gordiano Augusto III. Pompeiano Consulibus. From the Fasti Consulares it appears, that it was in the year 241 of our era that Gordian was Consul with Pompeianus; but here an unexpected difficulty occurs, for according to the Fasti, it was in his second consulate that he had Pompeianus for his colleague, and not in his third, as here recorded. Various inscriptions also occur in Gruter, in which Pompeianus is mentioned as his colleague in his second consulate; and also in an inscription found a few years ago in Cockermouth Castle. This difficulty has been a source of much doubt and futile conjecture to all who have endeavoured to explain this inscription. Professor Ward concluded, that as there was "no mention made of this third consulate any where, but here, and in another inscription given us by Gruter (MLXXXV. 10)," that it "must be Mr. Ward's conclusion has been acquiesced in by many;

Mr. Gale, however, was of a different opinion, and advanced the following hypothesis:--" It is no mistake," says he "of the emperor's being the third time consul instead of the second: for in the inscriptions of Gruter he is mentioned as consul the second time with Pompeianus, and as it was in the 4th year of his reign that he was consul with him, these numerals cannot refer to a third consulate which he never took, but must refer to his being the third emperor of that name. If it is objected, that it was not usual for the Roman emperors to style themselves 1. 11. III., I answer, there were never three of the same name, thus nearly succeeding one another, as the three Gordians, if at any time. However, the inscription in Gruter MLXXXV. must include a mistake when it represents this Gordian as TRIB. POT. COS. III. P. P. the III. immediately following cos. and so cannot be applied to any other word, but it is a mistake of the stone cutter."* With neither of these opinions can I wholly agree. I have a great repugnance to every conjecture founded on a supposed mistake of the workman, especially when it would be so soon perceived, and could be so easily corrected as here; and the occurrence of the same supposed mistake, in another instance and in a different country, tends strongly to the belief that there was something more than accident in the inscribing of this numeral. And if he was here styled III. on account of his being the third emperor of that name, it seems to me not a little singular that he should not be always so styled, which he certainly is not, indeed I do not at the present moment recollect any instance of such a designation. Neither of these opinions, therefore, are satisfactory to me, but I know not that I can advance any conjecture which will be found much more effective in removing the difficulty.— In considering this point, an idea once struck me, that what had hitherto been taken for the last 1. of the numeral, might in reality be the remains of a ligature for ET, which word otherwise is wanting in this line, and which in the Cockermouth inscription is curiously incorporated with the P. of Pompeiano.† With the hope that it might prove so, I ventured to take the liberty of requesting Miss Carlyle, in whose pos-

^{*} Hutchinson's History of Cumberland. v. i. p. 110.

⁺ Lysons's Cumberland, p. clxxxi.

session the altar is, to examine this mark most particularly, to ascertain if it had hitherto been misunderstood. With the greatest politenes's and attention, for which I feel extremely obliged to her, and beg thus publicly to express my thanks,* Miss Carlyle instantly complied with my request, but unfortunately the result of her examination was completely destructive of my conjecture. The 1. proved too distinctly cut to be mistaken. Driven from this supposition, I was led to entertain the hope, that a solution of the difficulty might be found in the practice which, it is well known, prevailed under the emperors, owing to the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of persons of consular dignity to fill all the posts requiring persons of that rank, in consequence of the great number of provinces, of creating consuls only for a few months, in order that others might be substituted for them, who were called, petty, substituted, or lesser consuls, and of reckoning the first ordinary consulate as a second consulate when it was preceded by such petty consulate.† But unfortunately for such an opinion, I cannot find that any such petty consulate was ever held by this Gordian; our list of the petty consuls is, however, so imperfect, that it is not improbable that such may have been held by him, and no record of it have transpired to us. It is highly probable, I think, that he might have served as consul, either whilst Cæsar or immediately after his elevation to the empire in 238, and thus his consulate with Aviola in 239 would be his second, and this with Pompeianus, in 241, his third. But then again the difficulty occurs, why this last consulate is so positively called the second in the Cockermouth inscription. It is, however, as positively called the third in this and the other inscription, so that the evidence is as strong one way as the other. Great uncertainty on this point seems evidently to have prevailed amongst the Romans themselves, and on the whole I

^{*} I must also beg leave to express my obligations to Wm. P. Johnstone, Esq., for his polite attention to, and ready compliance with, my request for a more correct drawing of the second altar than the Society was then in possession of, and also for his communication of some further information.

[†] According to this rule, Claudius having taken the consulship in the month of January, A. D. 42, and the second of his reign, is styled consul for the second time, because he had been petty consul the 1st of July in the year 37, and 1st of Caligula. It is the same with Vespasian, whose second consulate marks the year 70, because he had been petty consul in the two last months of the year 51.

am strongly inclined to think that a solution of the difficulty can best be found in the belief of some unrecorded or forgotten petty consulate.

If the preceding observations are correct the reading of the first found altar will be

Jovi optimo maximo et Numinibis Augusti nostri Cohors secunda Tungrorum Gordiana milliaria equitata Civium Latinorum, cui praeest Sicilius Claudianus praefectus, instante Aelio Martino principe, decimo Kalendarum J., Imperatore Domino nostro Gordiano Augosto tertium Pompeiano Consulibus.

That of the second will necessarily be,

Jovi optimo maximo Cohors secunda Tungrorum milliaria equitata Civium Latinorum, cui praeest Albus Severus praefectus Tungrorum, instante Victore Sevro (or Severo) principi.

Should the preceding attempt to explain these difficult inscriptions prove satisfactory to the Society, I shall feel much gratified. Though not deficient in the hope that I might throw some light upon them, I have been principally instigated by the belief that a combined view of these inscriptions would materially tend to clear up an obscure part of the history of a cohort which has lately so much occupied the attention of the Society, and by which so large a portion of the collection of antiquities in its possession was erected. I have, I trust, laid sufficient grounds for believing that the first cohort of the Tungri never garrisoned any other station on the wall than that of House-Steeds.

III. Copies of various Papers relating to the Family of Thornton, of Witton Castle, in the County of Northumberland, some of them bearing the Signatures of Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell. Communicated by W. C. Trevelyan, Esq., of Wallington, to J. Adamson, Esq. Secretary.

I.

A Commission from William, Earle of Newcastle, to Captain S'. Nich'. Thornton, K^{nt}. to be Cap^{tn}. of one Troope of Hargobuzieres, consisting of one hundred men—and power to rayse the said Troope by beating a Drume wthin the Countyes of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoland, and Bishoprick of Duresme, &c. &c.

22d. 8ber, 1642.

II.

Indorsed,—John Thornton passe from ye King.—On parchment.

Carolus dei gratia Magnæ Brittaniæ Franciæ et Hibniæ. Rex fidei defensor, &c. Serenissimis Reverendissimis Celsis'. Illustris'. Regibus Principibus Ducib. Statibq. eorumq. vices gerentibus Regionum, Urbium, Castrorum, Oppidorū. Copiarū. Classiū. Portuum, Naviū. Fluviorū. viarumq. Præfectis aut quibuscunq. aliis Magistratus munere insignibus viris ad quorum benevolas manus hæ literæ pervenient salutem. Sciatis quod lator presentiū. nobis dilectus Johannes Thornton Colonellus Equestriū. nuper locum tenens qui omnibus nostris mandatis fideliter obsequutus est iter in partes transmarinas perficiendū. habeat nosq. ea qua hunc nostrum ministrum prosequimur benevolentia iter istud tutum securum

expeditumq. cupiamus. Nos igitur Regiis nostris literis salvi conductus concomitantes atq. omnib. quorum supra honoris causa mentionem fecimus comendantes singulos in quorum ditiones aut jurisdictiones pervenerit, amice benigneq. rogamus subditisq. nostris præcipimus ut dicto Johanni amicam pacatam, liberamq. cum rebus necessariis eundi ac morandi concedant potestatem nihil omnino moræ molestiæ vis aut injuriæ inferant inferrive sinant sed potius omni benevolentiæ humanitatis & amititiæ officiorum genere præstiterint atq. omnia ad itineris expeditionem facientia præbeant quæ unusquisq. sibi suisve ministris aut subditis peregre euntib. exhiberi vellet. Hanc illi petimus (quoquo appulerit) humanitatem quam ex talionis lege eorum subditis per nostras ditiones euntib. debemus & nos præstituros promittimus. A Newcastle decimo quinto die Januarij Ano salutis Millessimo sexcentessimo Quadragessimo sexto.

CAROLUS R.

Copies from the originals, at Netherwitton.

III.—On paper.

L. S Theis are to require you forthwith on sight hereof to forbeare to prejudice the Lady Anne Thorneton relict of S' Nicholas Thorneton of Witton Castle in the County of Northumberland K't. either by offering any violence to her person or any of her family, or by taking away any of her horses Cattle, or other Goods whatsoever without speciall order. And hereof you are not to fayle as you will answeare the contrary, Provided that shee yeild obedience to all orders and ordinances of Parliam': & act nothing prejuditiall to the State. Given under my hand* the 17 day of Julye, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.

To all Officers and souldiers under my Command, And all others whome it may concerne.

* The pen has been drawn across a word in the original.—W. C. T.

IV.—On paper.

11°: Aug: 1651.

Three hundred horsses belonging to the Officers of nyne Regimt' of Foote viz'. his Excies, Maio' Gen" Lamberts, Maio' Generall Deanes, Collo: Engoldsbyes, Collo: Prids, Collo: Fairfax, Collo: Goffes, Collo: Coopers and Collo: Wests, as alsoe one thowsand horsses belonginge to the Traine and baggage togeather with One hundred and fiftie horsses belonginge to the life guard, and One thowsand horsses belonginge to the two Regim'. of Collo: Tomlinson and Collo: Hacker, were all quartered for one night upon the grounds of Lady Thorneton, att Nether Witton, in the Parish of Halborne, in the Countie of Northumberland Tenant to Edward Fenwicke of Stanton Esg'.

JOHN MOSELY, Q. M. Gen¹¹.

Whereas beside the p'iudice w^{ch} the said Lady Thornton received by the quarteringe of the Army in respect of Corne and grasse for horse-meate, The foote souldiers spoiled att y^c least Thirtie loades of Hay (and Straw)* (by estima con) w^{ch} they made use of to lay in theire Tents, I desire y^c same also may be Considered, and allowance made to the Lady and her Tenante respectively accordinge to the Loss they have susteyned thereby.

11°. August: 1651.

O. CROMWELL.

V.—On paper.

Losses sustained by the Lady Anne Thornton, of Netherwitton, in the Countie of Northum. and her tenants, the Armie being quarterd uppon her grounds as appeares by an order under the Ger¹¹⁵ hand, 11°: August: 1651.

Impri: Quartered uppon my Lady Thornton her grounds of Netherwitton, in the Countie of Northumer, and Parish of Hartburne, in Meadow and other grass for one night, Two thousand fowre hundered and fiftie horse, as appeares under the G^{rlls}, hand, at thre pence a horse a night comes to

£. s. d. 30 12 06

^{*} The pen has been drawn across the words and straw in the original.-W. C. T.

Alexa Thintic loads of Han enailled and maisted by	$\mathbf{\pounds}$. s. d.
Alsoe Thirtie loads of Hay spoilled and waisted by	18 00 00
the foote Souldiers, Estimated to	
alsoe a barne burned by the Soldiers vallewed -	16 00 00
Sixteen Sheep taken and killed by the Souldiers to	3 04 00
Likewise their was destroied in Oats and eaten	
by their horses of my Ladies and her tenants (of	19 16 06
Morpeth measur) Thirtie nine bowles & a bush-	13 16 06
ell vallewed to	
And of Pease two bowles & one bushell to -	01 17 06
of Rye one bowle vallewed to	01 00 00
of bigg tene bowle vallewed to	11 15 00
Some is off y ^e	
Losses: 95:05:6* Summ totall	95 05 06

All theise perticullers (save what)† the order mentioneth is viewed and prized by us whose names are heer underwritten.

ROBERT REAMES
THO: EVERS
JOHN JOYSEY ⋈ his marke
NICHOLAS BELL his ⋈ marke

Indorsed, y Generalls

Order.

VI.—On paper.

Appointment by T. Northumberland & I. Percy Lieutenants of the County of Northumberland, of John Thorneton Cornett to that Troope of Voluntiers whereof the Lord Widdrington is Captaine— 25 January 1660.

VII.—On paper.

Same as above, but dated 6th June, 1664.

- * An error of £1 occurs in the calculation.—W. C. T.
- † The pen has been drawn across the words save what in the original.—W. C. T.

VIII.—On Parchment.

Commission signed by Charles 2^d to John ThorntonEsq. to be Cornet of that Troop of Horse whereof the Lord Widdrington is Captaine. 13th June, 1667.

IX.—On Parchment.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, do certify that S' Nicholas Thornton, late of Witton Castle, in the County of Northumb^d. Kn^t. deceased, did, in the beginning of the Warr, att his owne charge, raise a troope of Horss for his late Maje service and comanded them himselfe tell want of health obliged him to returne home, and then he left them to his Brother John Thornton, under whose comand they continued in y Kings sarvice soe long as any field forces remand on foot the said John being for a long time Leiuietennant Collonell to S' Wm Blackiston of Newton, that the said S' Nicolas' for this, and his constant adherence to the Kings Party, was in his life time often plundred, his Estate sequestered, and soe continued divers years after his Death, and at last put into the Bill of saile, web forced his Sonn John Thornton to redeeme it att a high rate, and the rather because the said Jo. Thornton, The Sonn, even in his Infancy shewed his Loyalty, by appearing in the Warr of 1648, where he was made prisoner, and constantly after sustaind all the hardshipps and plundring that the prevailing Enemy could inflect on him; and that, after the happy restauration of his Maiesty, the said John, his Sonn, was Cornet to the Voluntere Troope in that County, Comanded by the late Lord Widdrington, and continued in that Imployment to his Death, and that the said S' Nicolas Thornton was Grandfather, & ye said John Thornton, his Sonn, was Father to Nicolas Thornton, Esq. now of Witton Castle aforesaid; and we further Certify, that the said Nicolas Thornton hath, on all occations, shewed himselfe Loyall and ready to sarve his Maiestie, and that his Two Unckles, Henry & William, now liveing, web Henry sarved in the quality of a Comission officer under his late Maiestie of Blissed memorie, and that William is Sonn to S' Nicolas Thornton, and sarved his Majes' under YOL. II.

the Comand of Wⁿ Lord Widdrington, late Deceaced. Witness our hands y^e 2 January, 1684.

I doe verily beleive this certificate to be true.

I. HOWARD: vice com:

WILL: STROTHER.

THO: HORSLEY.

WILLM OGLE.

S' N. WHITEHEAD.

EDMUND CRASTER.

Note by W. C. Trevelyan, Esq.

It is said there is a bed at Nether Witton, called Oliver Cromwell's. "His Excellency" mentioned in the fourth document, must mean Oliver;—it appears that he was then on his way to Scotland, having entered Newcastle on the 15th of July preceding; Colonel Pride, who is mentioned was one of those who went to meet him at Durham, and attended him back to Newcastle.—Brand's Newcastle, ii. 478.

IV. The Copy of an Indenture preserved amongst the Records of University College, Oxford, dated 1404, between Walter Bishop of Durham and the Master of that College. Communicated to the Society by W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq. of Wallington.

Indentura inter Walterum Episcopum Dunelm. et Magistrum Collegii de sex voluminibus Librariæ Collegii traditis. A. D. 1404.

Hæc indentura facta inter reverendum in Christo patrem Walterum Episcopum Dunelmensem ex una et magistrum Johannem Appelton magistrum seu custodem Magnæ aulæ Universitatis Oxon. ex altera parte Testatur quod idem Reverendus Pater tradidit et realiter liberavit præfato Johanni Appleton opere et litera parisiensi. videlicet tria volumina lecturæ Fratris Nicholai de Lira super tota Biblia alia tria volumina super tractatu intitulato Repertorium Dictionare de eisdem opere et litera sub conditionibus et modis infra scriptis videlicet ut dicta sex volumina infra librariam Aulæ prædictæ, et quod infra tres menses magister et socii dictæ Aulæ faciant dicta volumina inferri alligari nec unquam commodabunt nec commendari permittent, sed infra dictam librariam continuè remanebant exercitium et utilitatem studentium ibidem. Et ad hoc perficiendum et observandum magister et socii tam præsentes quam futuri corporale præstabunt juramentum. In cujus rei testimonium Reverendus pater Dunelm Episcopus et Magister Johannes supra scripti sigilla sua præsentibus indenturis alternatum apposuerunt. Dat. apud manerium ipsius Reverendi Patris de Hoveden die 21° mensis Augusti Anno domini 1404.

Copied from the original in University College, Oxford.

W. C. TREVELYAN.

558203

V. Account of a Discovery of some Remains of Trees, within Sea Mark, at Whitburn, in the County of Durham, from the Rev. Thomas Baker, Rector of Whitburn.

At about a mile south of Whitburn, the sand having been removed by the tide at the latter end of November, 1822, the stumps of seven trees were seen at about 100 yards in the sea, measuring from high water mark. The largest is described as about six feet in diameter, and is obviously in the situation in which it grew. There is a considerable accumulation of vegetable matter round them, containing leaves, nuts, and broken pieces of branches: next below this, is a light blue clay, in which the trees appear to have grown: the common general stratum of clay is brown, with many small stones intermixed, and is very brittle: in this no vegetable remains have been found, though it is frequently laid bare for a considerable distance in Whitburn Bay.

Whitburn, 31st. Dec. 1822.

VI. Extracts (being Warrants and Orders issued by King Henry the Eighth of England, and William the First of Scotland) from a Pedigree of the Family of Lambert, attested by Camden; W. Segar, Garter; R. St. George, Norroy; R. Tresswell, Somerset; in the Possession of Sir Charles Miles Lambert Monck, Bart. of Belsay. Communicated by W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., of Wallington.

Signed Henry R. By the Kinge.

Forasmuch as wee send this bearer John Lambarte Gentil. (Sonne of Christopher Lambart of Skipton) with all possible diligence uppon certayne owre weighti affayres into sundry partes of this owre Realme, Owre pleasure and highe commandement is that immediatelie uppon the sight hearof, ye see him furnished from tyme to tyme of sufficient and able horssis for his jorney at pryce reasonable, when and as often as hee shall have cause, as yowe and every of yowe will answere for the contrary at youre most extreme perills. gevin under owre signet at owre Castell of wyndsor the xx^{tl} day of Octobre, the xxviijth yeare of owre reynge.

To all and singular owre Mayors, Bayliffs, Sheryffs, and Constables, and to all other Officers, minesters, and subjects, and to every of them.

Signed Henry R.

We greet yow well; lettinge yow weete that whearas we have direckted and sent with others owre right trustie and entyerly beloved Cousin and Counsellor the Earle of Southampton, to owre Towne

of Newe castell uppon Tyne, thertoo meete and treate with certayne commissioners thyther to be sent from the Kinge of Scotts owre Nephewe, for and touchinge an unyversall peace to be concluded betwene us, and owre sayd Nephewe, and bothe owre Realmes for ever: Ower pleasure and high comandiment is that uppon the receipt hear-of yow presently furnish youre selfe to make youre repayre to owre sayde Cosyn of Southampton, so soone as yow may understand of his beyng at Yorke in his way thither wardes, thenceforthe to be further ymployed as yowe shal be ymmediatlye comaunded by us or direcktid by him, whearin wee will yowe to use you're beste endevour and diligence, whearof wee are well pswadid already, and as yowe tender owre service, and hearof fayle ye not as yow will answere the contrary. Yeoven at owre honor of Hampton Courte the tenth day of June in the xxxiiij'h year of owre raygne.

Directed no the outsyde and the insyde

To owre trustie and welbeloved John Lambart gentil. Sonne of Christopher Lambart of Skypton.

Signed Henry R. By the Kinge.

Wee greete yowe well; letting yow weete, that forasmuche as owre Right trustie and welbeloved Cosyn and Counsellor the Earle of Southampton is departed this lyfe in his journey into Scotland, (uppon whose Soule Jhesu have mercye) and that dyvers and sundrie Instructions, letters, direcktions, papers, wrytings, and other noets touching owre service, whearin o' saide Cosyn and Counsellor was lately there, and into the north partes of owre Realme ymployed, whearby him put in to youre handes, and there leafte, and are so still remayninge: Owre pleasure and highe commaundement is, that uppon the sight hearof yowe make youre ymmediat repaire unto us bringinge with yowe all the saide instructions, letters, direcktions, papers, wrytings, and other noets whatsoever receaved eyther from us or from him tochinge that service to be

disposid of, at owre pleasure, And heareof fayle ye not at yowre perrill. Datid at owre pallace of Westmester the xxvijth daye of October in the xxxiiijth yeare of owre Raygne.

To our welbeloved John Lambarte gentil. Sone of Christopher Lambart of Skipton.

Signed Henry R. By the Kinge.

Wee greete yowe well, lettinge yowe weete, that forasmuche as wee nave conceavid good lykinge of owre trustie and welbeloved John Lambart Gentilⁿ. (Sonne of Christopher Lambart of Skipton.) of whose redines and promptnes in service wee have had pryvate knowledge for certayne yeares paste. And whearas wee have receaved dyvers complayntes agaynst owre nowe Secretarye of owre Counsell established in the northe partes, Owre pleasure and high comaundement is owre sayde former Secretarie to be removed, And that yowe see the sayde John Lambart placed in that Office, and that yowe admitt and receave him as owre Secretarie of owre Counsell in the Northe partes by these presents so to contynewe at owre pleasure, and untill yowe receave further comaundement from us. And heereof wee will yowe not to fayle, Yeoven under owre Signet at ower palayce of Westm' the xxvijth daye of November in the xxxvth yeare of owre Raygne.

To owre Right trustie and entyerly beloved Cosyn and Counsellor Charles Duke of Suffolke owre lyevetenant in the North Partes, and to oure Counsell there established.

(William I.)

W: Rex Scotie universis in Christo Ecclie. fidelibus salutem: Sciant omnes ad quos littre iste pervent quod an ab incarnatione Dni: M.C. lxvij in presentiam mea et venerabilium virorum Clericorum et Laicorum

apud Stryvelyn, Talis facta est compositio inter Henricum de Lambart legatum ab Anglia et Alexandrum de Olifard militem, quos ad Judicium finaliter p. me fiend' Henricus Rex Angliæ totaliter referebat in causa duelii ipsis concessi p. Mariscallum Angliæ propter quasdam accusationes p. unum adversus altrum habitas et fidei interpositione utrinque firmata Scilicet quod coram me veniet uterque eorum Armatus paratus ad congressum et me suadente totam calumpniam quam quisque habebat adversus alterum confestim deponet et remittet ex corde et dignitas utriusque salva erit et jungent dextras et super Evangelia jurabunt se in eternum futuros veros amicos, salva Officio quod seorsim gerunt adversus Regem suum, Et omnia hec facta sunt in presentia mea: Hiis testibus Ingelram Episcopo Glascuensi, Nicholao Cancellario, Richardo Capellano, David de Olifard, Willmo. Dolepen, Thome de Maundeville, Willmo. Latimer, Petro de Colvill, Barnardo filio Brian, Rogero Camerario, Wydone Marescallo, Alexander deNevill, et multis aliis Scotis et Anglis.

(Part of the seal, in white wax, a man armed on horseback.)

VII. Explanation of the Inscription on a Bell at Heworth Chapel, in the County of Durham, in a Letter from William Hamper, Esq. to John Adamson, Esq. Secretary.

Deritend House, Birmingham.

I BEG, through your medium, to lay before the Society a brief explanation of the inscription on the Bell at Heworth Chapel, concerning the import of which, your worthy Co-Secretary confesses himself unable to form the smallest conjecture.* That its characters are unusually rude and obscure must be allowed, but I conceive that it eluded Mr. Hodgson's sagacity, chiefly from the legend having been impressed in an inverted position; and that, on viewing Plate V. the contrary way, it may be made out, in black letter, as follows:—

Now, presuming R. III. to be the maker's initials, it will follow that 12, 39, denotes his residence, either at Morpeth, or some other place beginning with the same letter.

Iff. is the well-known monogram of iHESUS; and, though the "name above all names," was commonly introduced on the sacred utensils, books, and vestments, and may probably have only a general application in the present instance, yet it is far from impossible but that the bell itself was so named in baptism. One of the celebrated peal at Osney Abbey was called JESUS; and on a small hand-bell of the year 1545, formerly used in the domestic chapel at Baddesley-Clinton Hall, in Warwickshire, is an inscription to the same effect—ihesus. Es. MINEN.

Archaeol. Æliana, vol. i. part i. App. no. 6.

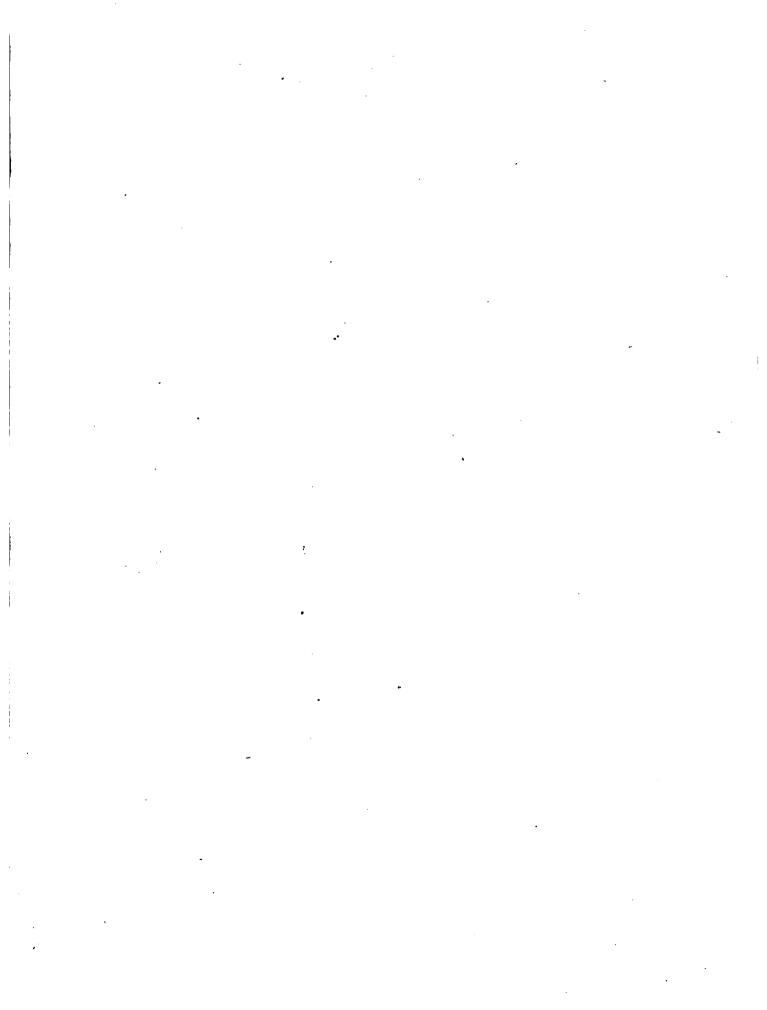
VIII. An Account of some Antiquities found in a Cairn, near Hesket-inthe-Forest, in Cumberland, in a Letter from Mr. Christopher Hodgson, to the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary. See Plates I. and II.

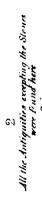
On Friday, the 15th of February, 1822, the workmen employed under my directions in widening Hesket Lane, on the great road between Carlisle and Penrith, about seventy yards from the Court Thorn, and on the east side of the way, fell in with a Cairn, which, with the antiquities it contained, I will endeavour to describe to you in the best manner I can.

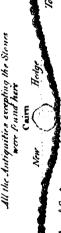
The hedge which was removed to make the alteration ran close by the west side of the cairn, and the new one runs through it. One would suppose the road had been curved round the west side of the cairn to avoid injuring it. Mr. Atkinson, of Cross-Gaps, which is the nearest dwelling-house to the cairn, tells me he remembers that when the turnpike road was made, between 50 and 55, or 56 years since, this cairn consisted of a very large heap of stones; that he believed many of them were taken at that time for forming the road, and since then, the successive farmers of the ground have taken stones in such considerable quantities from it, for repairing their hedges, as to have reduced it so far below the level of the adjoining ground, that none of it has, of late years, been within the reach of the plough.

On the Monday after the workmen fell in with it, I set several of them to work to clear away its area; in the progress of which operation, a very large quantity of cobble-stones, consisting chiefly of such red

^{*} See plate i. fig. 2, for sketch of the road, situation of the Cairn, &c.





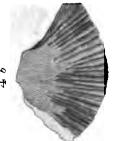












sand stone as is found in situ in the neighbourhood, but partly of the different varieties of the hard blue rocks, which form the mountains that environ the sides and head of Ullswater; some of them were so large as to take three men to roll them out. They were lying in a circular manner, in an area of about 22 feet diameter, and about two feet below the surface of the field. Immediately below the stones, and upon a natural bed of very fine dry sand, we came to a stratum consisting of charcoal, burnt bones, ashes, and the following antiquities, chiefly lying in a heap, with strong marks of fire in the sand, over an area of about 14 feet diameter. The stones immediately covering the ashes were large, and closely set together; those above smaller, compact, and regular. The four stones in Plate I, were found amongst them.

Plate I. fig. 3, is a stone perforated with two holes, and having a part of its upper surface sunk about an inch deep. It is 18 inches across, at the broadest part, by 16 inches.

Fig. 4, a, is part of a millstone, of freestone; it measures 11½ inches across in one line, and 6½ inches in the other, and differs from 1 to 3 inches in thickness.

Fig. 4, b, is another fragment of a millstone, of the kind that are called the blue stone, and which are quarried on the Rhine, near Cologne.—It measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches across in one line, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the other.

Fig. 4, c, is a rude hemisphere of freestone, having several small holes on its base. It has probably been an upper millstone. The diameter 15 inches.

Plate II. fig. 1, is a fragment of an ivory comb, neatly carved, and turned to a greenish brown colour.

Fig. 2, a and b, and fig. 8, a and b, are also of ivory, and I suppose them to have been the hafts either of knives or razors, as they are very like those of the razors now in use, and of the clasp knives used before the modern invention of springs at the hinge. They have each a fret upon them, very neatly and very regularly carved, and such as is commonly met with on Roman antiquities.

Fig. 4, is a sharping stone, not unlike those called water of Ayr stones.

Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4, are about twice the size of the figures in the plate.

Fig. 5, a and b, are parts of a pair of steel spurs, and are about 6 inches in length.

Fig. 6, a sort of iron dish, which I take to have been either the upper part of a helmet, or the umbo of a shield. It is $5\frac{1}{3}$ inches in diameter.

Fig. 7, an axe of steel, which the Romans called securis. It is 7 inches long.

Fig. 8, is a double edged steel sword; the hilt is 3 inches long, and 1½ inch broad. The guard 5 inches long, ½ high, and 1 inch broad. The pommel or balance knob, behind the hand is three inches in diameter, and of the same strengh as the guard: both the guard and the pommel have been plated with silver, which has been melted, but still adheres to them in globules, and they have a similar fret carved upon them to that on the ivory. The blade is 2 feet 10 inches long, next to the guard 2½ inches, and at the point 1½ inch broad.

Fig. 9, a, is a spear head of steel, of very neat workmanship. It is bent between the blade and socket, the latter of which is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and $\frac{1}{6}$ of an inch in diameter, having the copper rivets through it. The blade is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long.

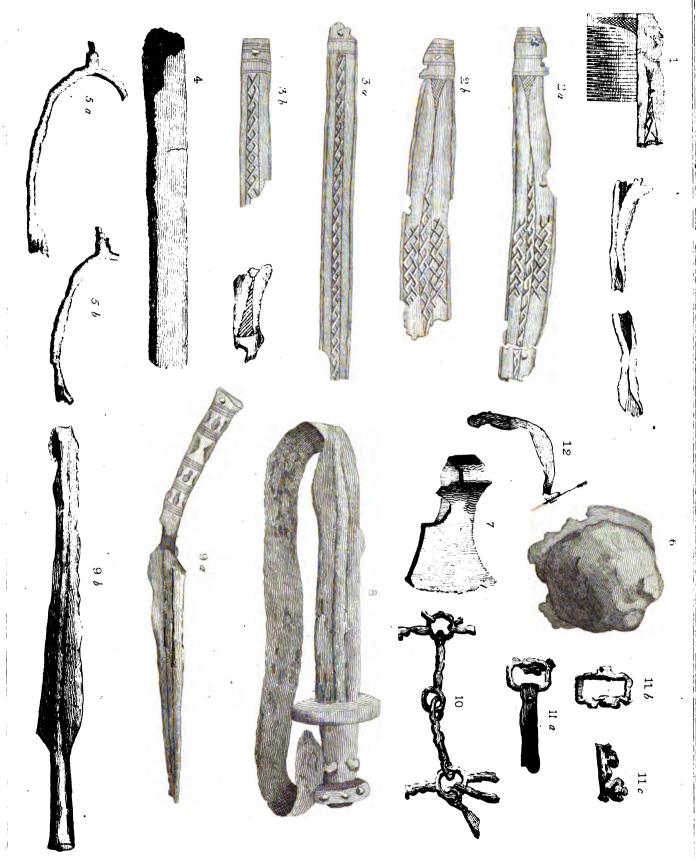
Fig. 9, b, is another head of a lance or spear, also of fine workmanship, the socket 6 inches long, ½ of an inch in diameter, and having in it 7 holes on each side, fitted in copper rivets. The blade is 12 inches long, a part of which is wanting.

Fig. 10, is an iron bit of a bridle, which has apparently been plated with brass. It is remarkable, that though of the kind called a snaffle, it has rings for one rein and head; they have been fixed by iron plates. It measures 7 inches.

Fig. 11, a, b, and c, iron fragments of a bridle, and other appendages to a bridle.

Fig. 12, a piece of iron, 8 inches across the bow, which I suppose to have belonged to the pommel of a saddle.

I can make very few general conclusions concerning these antiquities.



. e e • From the style and excellence of their workmanship, I would conclude that they are Roman; and I am much in favour of this conclusion from the circumstance of querns of Cologne stone being generally and very frequently found near Roman camps and forts, and from their being found on the site of a funeral pile. The remains of a bridle and saddle, however, are in favour of their belonging to a Scandinavian or Tartar race of people, as they make it probable that the ashes of a horse, as well as those of its rider, had been interred here. All the implements that are of metal, have been exposed to great heat, probably to that of the funeral pile, lighted to consume the body of their original owner; after they had been softened in the fire, the sword and the spear heads, No. 9, had received the twists with which they are represented in the drawings

If the turnpike road was on the line of Watling-Street, I would infer that these antiquities are older than, or coeval with, the Roman way from old Penrith to Carlisle, as it makes a turn at this place, which can be accounted for by no other way, than supposing that it had that direction given to it, for the purpose of avoiding the Cairn which I have been endeavouring to describe to you.

Dear Brother, your's affectionately,

C. HODGSON.

IX. An Account of some Roman Remains discovered on the Coast of Durham, in the Year 1816, by W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq. of Wallington, communicated to the Society.—See Plate I. Fig. 5.

In the summer of 1816, as I was examining the hills on the coast, about half way between Seaton and Hartlepool, in the county of Durham, near a farm called the Blue Houses, I observed a spot under the sand where the earth seemed to have been burnt, and some fragments of bones appeared; and on further examination I found a fragment of the fine red Roman earthen-ware, another of coarser brown, and a third of a red tile, together with some cinders and burnt bones. In the annexed sketch, the shaded parts shew the masses of earth formerly at the surface, but now only exposed by the washing of the sea. At the spot marked A I found a bone and a piece of tile; at B the earth for some space appeared burnt, and several vertebral bones of some animal were lying on it. At C were the fragments of earthenware, and near it two flat stones in an upright position, and a third lying near them. At this spot, the depth of the soil which contains these remains is four feet, the sand has now accumulated 24 feet above it, and below it is a clay.

The Rev. Mr. Leman, of Bath, to whom I sent the above account says, that it is evidently some Roman villa, or station, and suggests the probability of there being some road or communication between it and Pierse Bridge (Ad Tisam), or Binchester (Vinovium), or Chester-le-Street; but this I have not yet had an opportunity of ascertaining.

In the present year (1822), Mr. Pease, of Darlington, picked up, on the same spot, a large fragment of the red earthenware, which induced him to examine further, and he found an iron spear head, a brass coin of Domitian and a small brass fibula. X. An Account of a Runic Inscription on an ancient Cross, discovered at Lancaster, in the Year 1807, in a Letter from WILLIAM HAMPER Esq. to John Adamson, Esq., Secretary.

Deritend House, Birmingham, Oct. 3d, 1822.

Sir,

I shall feel obliged by your laying before the Society, accompanied by my best acknowledgements for the honour of membership lately conferred upon me, the annexed sketch of an ancient cross, found at Lancaster, in the year 1807. Never having seen the original, I can only vouch for the accuracy of its delineation, on the assurance of my learned friend Mr. Ormerod, the Historian of Cheshire, who informs me that it was made by a very careful artist at Lancaster, when this curious relique was deposited in the Vicar's house there, shortly after its discovery and disinterment in the adjacent church yard. The Runic Inscription, "faithful to its trust," though partially injured by all-prevailing Time, may be thus represented in Anglo-Saxon characters.



Gebye rop oczelbnie onuh-bunuz:

i. e. Erected for Ocyelbrit's Burial-place.

In the unsettled orthography of the early period when this cross was set up, probably anterior to the Norman Conquest, Ocyelbrit would express the same name as Egelberht or Æthelberht,* which seems to have been a common appellation.

I remain, dear Sir,
Your's sincerely,
WM. HAMPER.

* Gibson Chron, Sax. Regulæ generales, p. 51.

XI. Copy of an Indenture respecting Apparel made in the Time of Richard the Second, between the Lady Joane de Calverley and Robert Derethorne, communicated in a Letter from W. C. Trevelyan, Esq. of Wallington, to John Adamson, Esq. Secretary.

Wallington, Nov. 5, 1823.

DEAR SIR,

Accompanying this I send you a copy of an old account, which is interesting, as shewing the prices of divers things in this country at an early period.

Dear Sir, very truly your's,
W. C. TREVELYAN.

Copy from the original, on parchment.

Cest endentè fait a Calv'lay le xvi io' de Juin lan du Regne le Roy Rich secound puys le conquest xime p. ent' La Dame John de Calv'lay d'un pt. & Rob' Derethorne d'autre pt. tesmoigne q' la dit dame John paiera a dit Rob' p' les choses queux ensuont P'mment p' viii ermyns achatez viii It p' 1 gowne de melled ovesq' une chapon de bloy lyne ove Tarteryn vt xs It p' iii aulnz de russete p' 1 gowne ove 1 chapon prs del auln ii iiij'—vij'. It p' 1 furrur degray p' mesme la goune ove le pfulyng du mesme & la lynure del chapon xxij.'. It p' xl perles pris del pece ij' q' vii' vi': It p' 1 goune de bloy mottelay & 1 chapon de scharlete la goune furre ovesq. popill & le chapon ove menever & les p' fels d'ambedieux d'ermyne p' ovesq. la ptenaunce viii' iiij'. It la dite

VOL. II.

^{*} Joan the wife of Walter Calverley, of Calverley, was daughter of Sir John Bygot, of Settrington, Knight.

dame paiera a dit Rob' ix marcz queux il appta a luy. It p' 1 coupill de Haranc sor & vi pisd sals xvi It p' 1 viel xvi It p' 1 sell rub cum frene p' 1 mlier x' It p' 1 sell deaurat coopt cū rūb velvet p' 1 dna p lxs.

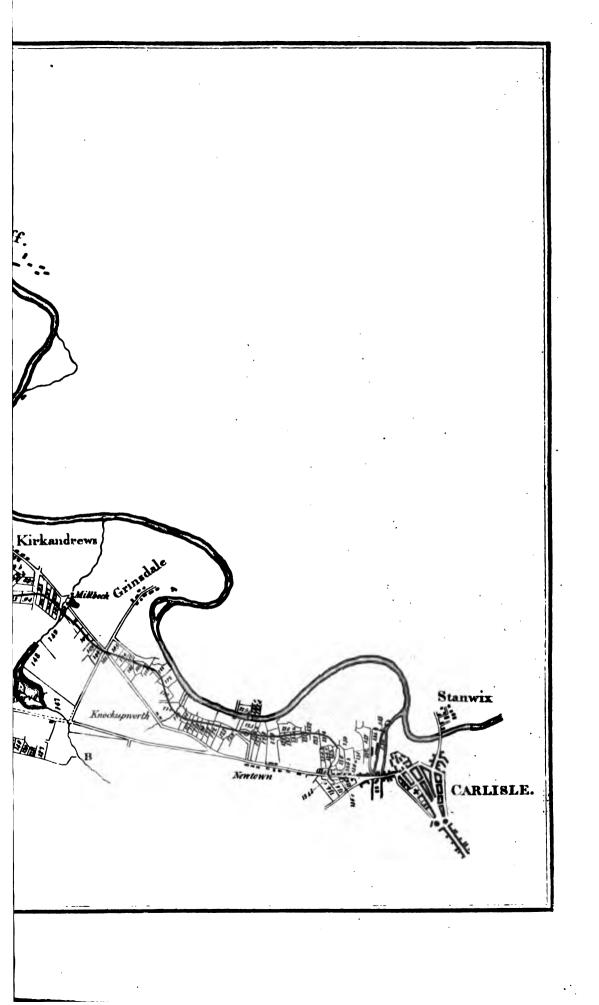
Translation.

This indenture, made at Calverlay the 16th day of June, in the year of the reign of King Richard the Second, after the Conquest 11th. Between the Lady Joane de Calverlay, of the one part, and Robert Derethorne of the other witnesseth, that the said Lady Joane hath paid to the said Robert, for the things which follow: Imprimis, for 8 ermines bought 8s. Item, for a gown of melled, with a hood of blue lined with green tarterine, 10s. Item, for 3 ells of russette for a gown, with a hood, price per ell, 2s. 4d, 7s. Item, for a furring of grey for the same gown, with the perfuling* of the same and the lining of the hood, 22s. Item, for 40 perles, price a piece, 2¹d. 7s. 6d. Item, for a gown of blue mottelay and a scarlet hood, the gown furred with poplin, and the hood with menever,† and the perfulings of both of ermine, price, with the appurtenances, 8s. 4d. Item, the said Lady hath payed to the said Robert 9 marks which he had lent her. Item, for a couple of heronsor and 6 salt fish, 16s. Item, for a calf, 16d. Item, for a red saddle, with bridle, for a militia man, 10s. Item, for a saddle, gilt and covered with red velvet, for a lady, price 40s.

Kirkandı

^{*} Perfuling:: bordering.

⁺ Menever = a fine fur from Muscovy.



XII. An Account of some Antiquities presented to the Society by WILLIAM CHAPMAN, Esq. Civil Engineer, communicated by him to the Secretaries. See Plate III.

Newcastle, 24th December, 1823.

DEAR SIR,

I conceive the various Relicks I send you can no where be so appropriately placed as with the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle, who, I hope, will deem some of them to be worthy of their acceptance.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your's truly,

John Adamson, Esq.

WILLIAM CHAPMAN.

Newcastle, December 18, 1823.

DEAR SIRS.

As the course of the Canal from Carlisle to the Solway Frith, which was lately executed under my chief direction, crossed the line of the Roman wall several times, I had hoped to have obtained some remains of antiquity worthy of being presented to the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle; having desired the different contractors to inform their men that I would give the full value of whatever they found. It has, however, so happened, that they either found nothing of any material value, or sought for such purchasers as were at hand; therefore the only antiquities that came to my possession, are enumerated in the enclosed letter to me, from one of the contractors for the work, and are now

sent, for the acceptance of the Society, in the same package they were forwarded to me.*

The church spoken of in the letter, is that of Burgh, the ancient Axelodunum, on the south side of Severus's wall; and the bog which is mentioned, is close to the entrance of Burgh marsh, the surface of which is below the level of high tides.

The rude figure upon the stone, of 20 inches in length by 8 inches in breadth, is apparently a figure of Mercury in one of his characters, on which I shall make no comment, as it will now be correctly ascertained; the floor of hard cement, near to which it was found, can at present only afford basis for conjecture.

The coin appears to bear the image of Faustina, but is so eroded as not to be easily definable.

The metal pot seems to be of comparatively recent origin; and on the small earthen vessel, I have formed no decided opinion.

There were also found, near the same place, parts of red earthen pipes, which may indicate the vicinity of a Roman bath: but what I deem to be more worthy of observation than any of the preceeding, is a small specimen of oak wood,† from a subterraneous forest, which was cut through in the excavation of the canal, near the banks of Solway Firth, between the stations of Gabrosentum and Tunnocelum, viz. about half a mile north west of the village of Glasson, and extending into Kirklands. The trees were all prostrate, and they had fallen, with

* Sir, Burgh, 26th August, 1823.

I have sent you all the curiosities that I was able to obtain, and perhaps you will he desirous to know in what situation they were found. The stone was discovered with its face down, about 50 yards east of the church, about 8 feet below the surface, near to a large floor of hard cement, about 3 feet below the surface.

The coin was found about 100 yards east of the church, at about the same depth from the surface as the stone.

The small earthen pot was found among the peat moss beside the culvert.

The small metal pot was found very near the same place where the coin was found.

Your obedient Servant,

THOS. THOMPSON.

† A sufficient quantity of this wood was afterwards obtained, through Mr. Chapman, to make a President's chair for the Society.

little deviation, in a northerly direction, or a little eastward of it.— Some short trumks, of 2 or 3 feet in height, were in the position of their natural growth; but although the trees, with the exception of their alburnum and all the branches, were perfectly sound, yet the extremity of the trunks, whether fallen or standing, were so rugged, that it was not discoverable whether the trees had been cut down, or had fallen by a violent storm. The level upon which the trunks lay, was a little below that of high tides; and from 8 to 10 feet below the surface of the ground they were embedded in; which, excepting the superficial soil, is a soft blue clay, having the appearance of marine alluvion; I brought a specimen of it to Newcastle, with a view to its being analysed; but, by some non-attention, it has been lost; as also has a paper of efflorescent salt, which had formed upon the vertical face of a pillar of this earth in the middle of the canal; therefore I can only say, that the taste and appearance of the salt was ammoniacal. Although the precise period at which this forest fell is not ascertainable, there is a positive proof that it must have been long prior to the building of the wall of Severus, because the foundations of that wall passed obliquely over it, and lay 3 or 4 feet above the level of the trees; all of which were of oak, and several of them above 4 feet in girt.

I have seen numerous trunks of oak trees, both in Ireland and this island, but all of them were embedded in peat bog; and their sap vessels were uniformly decayed, so that the ligneous fibres were easily separable. On the contrary, you will see in the specimen I send you, which is superscribed with my name, that the wood appears as sound as if recently cut. It was saturated with moisture, and rather expanded, but not more than if newly cut timber had been exposed to moisture; in fine, it was in so perfect a state, that I authorised the contractor for some jetties protecting the outlet of the canal into Solway Frith, to use it under few limitations in the construction of those jetties, in common with other oak timber procured for the purpose.

I have also seen, interspersed with short trunks in a standing direction, prostrate trees in beds of peat moss, on both shores of this island, as low, and even below the level of spring tide low water, which as the

level of the sea rises slowly from the fall of precipices, and from the constant protrusion of alluvial matter from the various rivers of the globe, it follows, that even with the aid of some not yet ascertained auxiliary cause, numerous centuries must have elapsed since those trees, upon the lower levels, were in a growing state; but in all those instances, whether ancient or more modern, the sap vessels were reduced to a black pulp, as already implied, and the concentric ligneous fibres only remaining, which were more or less divided by the vessels communicating through each concentric ligneous ring, so as to be easily separable, in small slips, like whalebone. Therefore the preservation of the sap vessels in the trees under discussion, appears to be owing, either to the saline matter I have mentioned, or to the substance in which they were embedded being more impervious to air, and to the transmission of water. Amongst the causes tending to raise the level of the ocean, I have not, as has been some time done, enumerated the constant formation of coral islands, because the matter of which they are formed must previously have been in or under the ocean; nor can the islands formed by sub-marine volcanoes raise the level of the sea; but must, on the contrary, depress it, so far as the volcanic mass shall be raised above its level.

The accuracy of astronomical observations prevents me attributing it to a slight polar deviation, insufficient to bend the crust of this sphere, by any local change of centrifugal tendency.

Besides those relicks found near the western end of the wall of Severus, I also send, for the Society's acceptance, two fragments of an elegant Roman vase, of fine red pottery, which was found at its opposite extremity, close to or in the site of the station of Segedunum, which were presented by me many years since, to the late Hugh Hornby, Esq. Alderman of this Corporation, and returned to me by Miss Hornby, after her father's death. I shall not attempt to describe the various figures embossed upon them, because these fragments will now pass into the possession of those more competent to decipher them than,

Dear Sirs, your's faithfully,

WILLIAM CHAPMAN.

Rev. John Hodgson, Secretaries to the Antiquarian Society, Newcastle. John Adamson, Esq.

Explanation of, and Remarks on, the accompanying Plan.

The extensive agger, y and the smaller one, x are deserving of the examination of an Antiquary.

In Horsley's Britannia Romana, the wall of Severus is described to run on the north side of the highway over Burgh Marsh, which accords with the general plan, p. 158; but he also says, that the wall passed through Bowstead and Easton; both of which lie on the south edge of the marsh, and the course of the wall is so marked by dotted lines on an enlarged plan.

In Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia, vol. iii. p. 228, the line of Severus' wall appeared to go straight over Burgh and Easton Marshes, which accords with the vallum and stony vestiges in the extensive agger at y. As the marshes in the time of the Romans must have been more overflowed by the high tides than they now are, which seldom occurs but in the equinoxes, it is not improbable that they might have had castella, or small stations, on the eminences of Bowstead and Easton, which project into the southern boundaries of those marshes, and if so, the ruins of these minor stations may account for the discordance of opinions. At x the mounds are simply of earth; they appear to be military works; and as it is dubious whether Hadrian's Vallum extended so far west, it is not unlikely that they have been thrown up during the various contests antecedent to the union of these kingdoms.

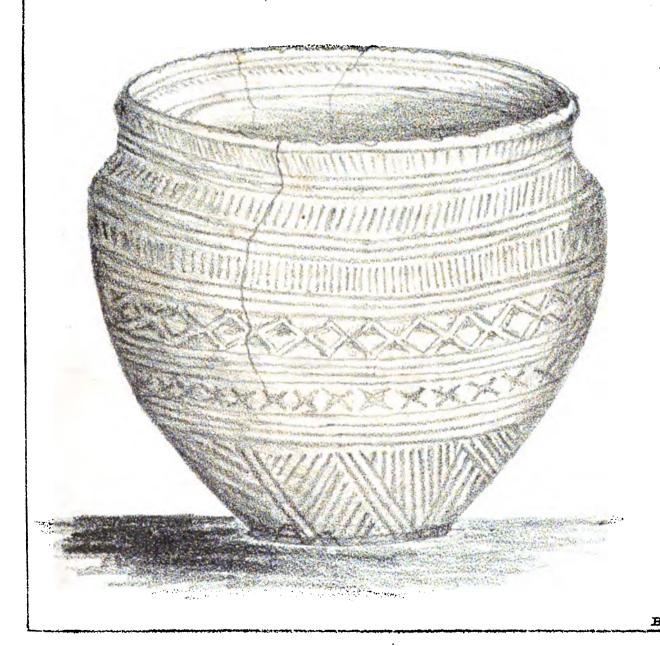
XI. Copy of a Letter written by Queen Elizabeth, to Frederick II. of Denmark, communicated by Walter Calverley Trevelyan, Esq. of Wallington, to John Adamson, Esq. Secretary.

Serenissime Princeps & Frater charissime. Quoniam per nobilem virum, qui has perfert, aut etiam antequam ille in Daniæ Regnum forte venerit, de Scoticæ Reginæ nece famam volaturam suspicamur, ea res quemadmodum gesta sit Serenitati Vestræ vere & fideliter apperiendam duximus. Ea Regina in quantis criminibus de necis nostræ non semel sed sæpius iterata machinatione & status nostri euersione deprehensa sit Serenitatem Vestram audivisse non dubitamus. Quod ipsius Reginæ multis literis Secretariorumque eius confessione, multorumque in necem nostram eius mandato coniuratorum testimoniis euidentissime comprobatum est. Ac coniuratos illos, totam illam machinationem statim cum caperentur, atque etiam cum Supplicio traderentur, palam confitentes, debitis pœnis leges afficerunt.

Reginam vero, vitæ nostræ quotidie struentem insidias, trium Statuum nostrorum auctoritas, quod parliamentum vocant, iustissimo indicio neci condemnavit, qui sæpe nos iteratis precibus defatigarunt, ut eam potius meritæ neci traderemus, quam perpetuo, dum illa viueret, cum eius emissariis de nostra vita dimicaremus, simul etiam plane nobis edicentes, nullam humano ingenio rationem iniri posse qua (illa salua) nos saluæ esse possemus. Eam tamen supplicio tradere propter sanguinis coniunctionem nuncquam sustinuimus, ut id fieret in eo duntaxatcasu, si tumultus aliquis, aut rebellio, eius Reginæ causa, in perniciem nostram exitata esset. Hoc diploma Secretario cuidam nostro custodiendum

10 4 APRIL, 1928.

DRAWN TO THE PULL SIZE



• • dedimus, grauiter interdicentes ne cuiquam id enunciaret, aut quicquam in ea re nobis non prius consultis egeret. Quod ille prorsus negligens (habita cum consiliariis nostris nonnullis consultatione) præcipiti festinatione, nobis insciis, executioni mandavit, qui tamen nunc ita se excusant, se esse veritos ne nimia nostra clementia nobis ipsis exitium acceleraremus.

Ita praeter nostram voluntatem, huius Secretarii temeritate, Regina illa (quanquam quod negari non potest nocentissima) nobis, Deum testamur, nihil tale suspicantibus morti tradita est. Secretarium tamen illum, propter manifestum mandati nostri contemptum, in Turrim conjecimus ut ad amussim tam inexpectati nobis facti rationem reddat.

Quod hiis literis Serenitati Vestræ testari voluimus, non quod vereamur ne huius Reginæ supplicium nobis imputetur, quod et iustissime exequi potuimus, & si periculi nostri duntaxat rationem habuissemus certe debuimus, sed ut rei ordinem verè & sincerè pro Sororio nostro animo intelligeret, nec quicquam nobis in vita hoc uno facto acerbius contigisse. Iterum Deum Optimum Maximum precamur ut Serenitati Vestræ omnia fausta ac fœlicia largiatur. Datum ut in literis.

ELIZABETTA, R.

On the Cover:-

SER'mo Principi ac Domino FREDERICO secundo, Dei gratia. Daniæ, Norvegiæ, Vandalorum, Gothorumque Regi, Duci Slesvici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ ac Dietmartiæ, Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorst, Fratri, Consanguineo & Amico nostro charissimo.

With the Queen's seal in yellow wax.

Under the address is written:— R. (receptæ) Scanderberb. (urgi) 23 Martii Anno 87.

The original of this letter is preserved amongst the Royal Archives at Copenhagen, and was published in the "Nye Danske Magazin" for 1823, with a fac-simile of Elizabeth's signature.

In a letter from Lord Willoughby to Frederick II. dated London, vol. 11.

March, 4 1587, he speaks thus concerning this event:—" Non est novum, potentissime Rex, quod ante mensem Regina clementissima, a sanguine tantum abhorrens, ut justam ægre sumat vindictam, viota tamen omnium Angliæ ordinum atque universitatis civium suorum & subditorum precibus assiduis, eam jussit exequendam sententiam, quam regni proceres tuterant, & tota gens nostra comprobat, contra nocentissimam Reginam."

No. XIV.—Observations on the Roman Road called Wrekendike, and particularly of that Branch of it which led from the Mouth of the Tyne, at South Shields, to Lanchester, in the County of Durham. By the Rev. John Hodson, Sec.

Till Gateshead Fell was inclosed there was only one house at the Five Lanes' end upon it, which commonly went by the name of the Red Robins, a nick-name given to a person who resided in it not many years since. It is still a public house, and stands on the west side of the old road to London, and at the head of the lane that leads thither from Lamesley, by Harley Green. After the enclosure of the common, Mr. Watson, of Warburton Place, on Carhill, founded a considerable village at this place, which, at my suggestion, he called WREKENTON. My reason for recommending this apparently antiquated and unintelligible, but certainly English-sounding name, to this new establishment, was—its contiguity to the course of an ancient military road, which was there called Wrekendike, and in other parts of its extensive course, Rykenild-street, and Ikenhild-street: and my object in writing this paper is to give some general account of this road, and of the meaning of its names; but more particularly to describe the part of it which runs westward from Wrekenton to Lanchester, and eastward to South Shields, in the county of Durham.

Ralph Higden, in his *Polychronicon*, as printed by "Wynkyn de Woorde," in 1595, has a chapter "On the Royal Roads," in England, of which he gives the courses of four, and of the fourth thus:—" The forth is called Rykenilde-street, and stretcheth forth by Worceter, by Wycōbe, by Brymyngham, by Lychefelde, by Derby, by Chestrefelde, by York, and forth vnto Tynmouthe."*

In the Oxford edition of the Polychronicon, this road is described as

commencing at St. David's:—" Quarta via dicitur Ryknild-street, tendens ab affrico in boream vulturnalem, & incipit a Mavonia in West-Wallia, tenditque per Wygorniam, per Wicum, per Birmyngham, Lichefeld, Derby, Chesterfeld, Eborum usque ad ostium Tyne fluminis, quod Tynemutha dicitur."

A manuscript in the Cottonian Library,* intituled, Eulogium Historiarum, "seems," as Gale observes, "to have been copied from the same draught" as Higden derived his information from, their description of the four great roads being nearly verbatim alike. These are the words of the Eulogium:—"Quarta via dicitur Rykeneld-street tendens ab affrico in Boream. Incipit enim a Menevia, et procedit per Herefordiam, Wigorniam, Wicum, Bermingham, Lychefeld, Derbi, Chesterfeld per Eboracum, usque ad ostium Tyne fluminis, quod nunc dicitur Tynemouth."

Harrison, in his Description of Britain, after noticing that some call the "Erming-street" "the Lelme," has the following description of this road:—"The *Ikenild*, or *Rikenild*, began somewhere in the south, and so held on toward Cirencester, then to Worcester, Wicombe. Brimcham, Litchfield, Darbie, Chesterfield; and crossing the Watling-street somewhere in Yorkshire, stretched foorth in the end vnto the mouth of the Tine, where it ended at the maine sea, as most men doo confesse. I take it to be called the Ikenild, because it passed through the kingdom of the Icenes. For albeit that Leland, and other following him, doo seeme to place the Icenes in Norfolke and Suffolke yet in mine opinion that cannot well be done, sith it is manifest by Tacitus that they lave neere vnto the Silures, and (as I gesse) either in Stafford and Worcester shires or in both, except my conjecture doo fail me. The author of the booke, intituled, "Eulogium Historiarum" doth call this street the Lelme. But as herein he is deceived, so have I dealt withall so faithfullye as I may among such divercitie of opinions; yet not denieng but that there is much confusion in the names and courses of these two latter, the discussing whereof I must leave to other men that are better learned than I.''

Drayton, in his *Poly-olbion*, personifies Watling-street for the purpose

* Galba E. 7.

+ Hooker's Edit. 1586, p. 113.

of making it give an account of its own course, and that of the Foss, the Icning, and the Rickneld, which last it describes thus:—

- " And Rickneld, forth that raught from Cambria's farther shore,"
- "Where South-Wales now shoots forth St. Dauid's Promontore,
- "And, on his mid-way neere, did me in England meet;
- "Then in his oblique course the lusty stragling Street,
- "Soone ouertook the Fosse; and toward the Fall of Tine.
- "Into the Germane Sea dissolu'd at his decline."*

In support of this general opinion, that an ancient road called *Riken-ild-street*, passed from the western part of Wales, by way of Worcester and Birmingham, to the mouth of the Tyne, at South Shields, I shall endeavour to bring some collateral, and, I think convincing, testimony.

In the foundation charter of the Abbey of Hilton, in Staffordshire, one of the boundaries of a property granted to that institution is described thus:—" Ascendendo per Richinild-streete et per villam de Mere."†

Selden, in his notes on Drayton's Poly-olbion says:—" This name of Ricen-ild is in Randal, of Chester, and by him derived from St. Dewies, in Pembroke, into Hereford, and so through Worcester, Warwick, Derby, and Yorkshire, to Tinmouth, which, upon the author's credit reporting it to me, is also iustifiable by a very ancient deed of lands bounded near Bermingham, in Warwickshire, by Rickenild."

Mr. Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana* tells us, that "the Roman way which ran by Little Chesters, a mile below Derby, is called Ricnig-street."

In the Additions to Camden, peaking of this street, it is said, that "in an old survey or map of the county of Derby, about Tupton Moor, made in the last century, it is called Rignall-street."

In Lyson's *Derbyshire* we have the following observation:—" Rikenild-street is called by the name of Rignal-street, in an old survey of Sir H. Hunlocke's property, in Derbyshire, as well as in those of other estates in Warwickshire and Staffordshire, where it is described as their boundary."§

^{*} Selden's Ed. fol. 248. † Dug. Mon. vol. ii. p. 942. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 431. § P. ccix.

On the north side of the hamlet of Eighton-banks, in the county of Durham, there are vestiges of an ancient road, which there forms the boundary between the parishes of Chester-le-street and Gateshead, and further east, between the parishes of Jarrow and Washington, and in that particular spot is called *Wrekendike*. This road extended from the mouth of the Tyne, at South Shields, to the south-western corner of Gateshead Fell, where it branched off towards Gateshead to the north, Schaden's Law and the Wear to the south-east,* Chester-le-street to the south, and Lanchester to the west.

Having now, I think, satisfactorily shown that the Wrekendike, on Gateshead Fell, is a part of the Rykenilde-street of the Monk of Chester, and our other old Topographical writers, I shall endeavour to give a rational etymology of the term Rykenilde, and a more particular account of the ancient road which led from South Shields towards Lanchester.

ILD, is a Saxon word meaning old. STREET, in its most obvious sense, is from the Latin stratum, and means a paved road, but was very probably in its origin from the same source as the Greek sparts, an army, and applied to such great public roads in the Roman Empire, as were made by the military, and maintained at the public cost.

DYKE, as applied to roads, means a ridge of earth with a ditch on each side of it. In this sense it appears in Graham's Dyke, Offa's Dike, &c.

RYKEN, I suppose to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon hpizz, † a ridge, in which sense it is still used in the north of England in the expressions—" a rig of land," "the riggen tree," "the riggen of the house," and in this sense, the Ricken-ilde-street is a name of the very same import as "the old Ridge-way." In support of this derivation it might be urged, that a collateral branch of Ikeneld-street, which ran from Streetley, on the Thames, in Oxfordshire, by Ashbury, Taunton, and Redruth, to the Land's End, is, to this day, called the

^{* &}quot;De Semer per altum iter usq; Scadneslawe" (Surtees, ii. 210).

⁺ The Saxon hpicz or hpyz and the Islandic Riggur mean a back or back bone; and are probably of the same origin as P'au, i. e. spina dorsi, which in the common language of Northumberland is called a rack; hence also they call a neck of mutton "the rack."

Ridgeway; * and that Iken, or as it is frequently written Hiken, is a mere synonym of Riken, signifying High, as in the Teutonic Hoogestrate and Hoogen-wegh.

That the name Wrekendike was not imposed in modern times upon the branch of this road, which it is the object of this Essay to describe, but is of very ancient standing, I am able to advance indubitable evidence.‡ For Hugh de Pudsey, who was Bishop of Durham from 1158

- Gough, in the preface to Camden's Britannia, p. lxxv. says, the "Ridge-way" runs "by Tamworth." And in another place, "Watling-street, so named from one Vitellanus, supposed to have directed it (the Britains calling Vitellanus in their language Auctalin) and Werlam Street, from its leading through or by Verolam, and called in other places by the people, High-dyke, High-ridge, Fortie-foot-way, and Ridge-way."
 - + See the Glossary to Wilkins' Leges Anglo-Sazonicæ.
- † The following documents are from certified copies made in the time of the Commonwealth, from original records belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Durham. I found them among a bundle of uscless papers at Hebburn Hall: they have suffered by damp, and only the English translation of the first instrument fell into my hands:—
- No. 2. Comissio ad faciend. Inquisitiem de communi pastura in mora de Boldon pro tenent' de Wardley. Robertus Dei gratise episcopus Dunelm. dilectis et fidelibus suis magistro R. de Herteburn et domino Johanni de Eggescliue saltm. Mandamus vobis quod per sacramentu duodec. proborum et legal. virorum de visnet. de Bolduna diligentem faciatis inquisiciem per quas metas et divisas prior et conventus Dunelm. et homines sui de Wardley per averia sua pascere solebant pacifice pastura manerij nostri de Boldona temporibus episcopor. Nicholai et Walteri predecessor. nostror. et maxime a tempore quo Walterus de Seleby predictam villam de Wardley dictis priori et conventui Dunelm. resignavit: Et inquisicom unde factam aperte et distincte lari faciatis et veritatem dicte inquisicois facte nobis in primo adventu nostro scire faciatis. Dat. apud Midleham xxvijo die Nouembris Pont. n'ri, anno secundo.—Hac est nomina juratorum qui sumoniti fuerunt veniend. coram magistro R. de Hertburn et d'no. Johanne de Eggeaclive super moram de Boldona die Sabbati px. post festum Sancti Andree Apostoli anno gratie M.cclxij. ad veritatem recognoscend. super sacramentu suum per quas metas et divisas averia prioris et conventus Dunelm. et hominu suoru de Wardeley solebant pascere

to 1195, gave to the monks of Durham the town of Follensby, by bounds which he himself set out between Boldon and Follensby, that is to say, from "Le Strothie even unto Restale, and from Restale to Blakelawe, and from Blakelawe to the Marches of *Wrachenndberge*;" and Robert de Stitchell, who presided in the same see from 1260 to 1274, issued a commission on the 27th of November, 1262, to inquire into the rights, which the Prior of Durham, for his lands at Wardley, had on Boldon

pacifice in mora de Boldon^a temporibus Episcoporum &c. ut supra.—Robertus de Elmeden: Adam de eadem presbiter: Walterus de Seleby: Johannes de Merley senior: Johannes de Merley junior: Gilbertus Gategang: Willimus de Elmedon: Rogerus de Vsworth: Willimus de eadem: Richardus de Stretforth: Willimus Ruffus de Newton: Galfridus de Riklinden: Willimus de Yolton: Alexandrus de Hilton et Johannes de Linz—jurati dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Prior et conventus Dunelm. et homines sui de Wardley usi sunt pasturâ de Boldon^a pacifice in australi parte ultra Wrakyndik usq; campum de ffoleteby scilicet de Wittemere versus occidentem:—Item dicunt quod predict. prior et conventus de Wittemere usq; Blakeslaulech pascebant aliquă pasturam et capta fuerunt averia sua per homines episcoporū et fugata apud Boldon sed nesciunt quoquo deliberata fuerunt. Et dicunt quod mora illa de Wittemere usq. Blaklaulech continet per eorum estimacŏem xiiij acras. Dicunt etiam quod a Blaklauleche versus Boldon tota mora est solum et d'nica pastura Episcopi et hominū de Boldon ex parte australi scdm. quod lapides et mete protendunt se vsq. ad finem cuiusdam fossati tempore Hugonis episcopi levati versus orientem.

A true Copy agreeing with the Original remaining in the ... of the late deane & Chapter of Durham.

THOS BULLOCK
Notary Publiq; & late Registrer
RA: HEDLEY
Not. Publiq.

No. 3. Inquisic'o capta de Boulbornehead iuxta Heworth.—Inquisic'o facta apud Bolbourneheued die Jovis prox. ante Pent. anno pont. d'ni Roberti Ep'i. quarto p. tales subscript'. scilieet. p. Robertū de Elmedon: Rogerū de Ousworth: Will'm de Yolton: Robertū de Rauenesworth: Will'm de Elmeden: Joh'em Ayer de eadem: Galfridū de Quichā: Walterū de Vrpeth: Richardum de Holmside: Joh'em. de Kimlesworth: Will'm. de Pockerley: Willimū de Swallowell: Willimū de Redley: Qui jurator. dicunt per sacramentū suū quod homines d'ni prioris cū omnibus averijs suis toto tempore d'ni Richardi de Marisco quondam Ep'i Dunelm. et ex tunc usq. in hunc diem paner^t (*) pasturam more p. totum a fonte qui dicit^r Bolburneheued descendendo secund. cursū eiusd^m fontis versus Orientem usq. campum de ffolansby et sic descendendo per Wrakendike versus orientem usq. Wytemer et siketū quod descendit a marisco subtus Blakelaw et sic descendendo per Wrakendyke versus orientem usque Wytemer et quod in dicta mora ab eod^m tempore et prius absq. aliquo impedimento soluti sunt bruerā eradicare et turbas excortare ad libitum suum.

Sic: in the translation which accompanies this document it is "did eate the pasture more by the whole from a fountaine which, &c."

Moor; and an inquest, in 1265, found that "the Prior's men, from the time of Richard de Marisco, in 1217, till that day, had enjoyed for their cattle the whole eatage of the moor, from a well called Bolburnehead, descending by its course toward the east to the ground of Follansby, and so descending by Wrakendike towards the east to Wytemer, and the sike which goes from the bog under Blakelaw; and so descending by Wrakendike towards the east of Witemer; and that on the said moor, from the said time, they had without hinderance been accustomed to pull as much ling, and pare as much turf as they pleased."

The track of this road, from the Roman station on the Law, near South Shields, to Biddic-lane, which runs from East Boldon to Jarrow Slake, is accurately described by Mr. Surtees, in his account of the remains of the Roman works, on the south side of the Estuary of the Tyne. From Biddic-lane to Hedworth Fell Gate, its course is more distinct, but still much obliterated. From that place to the south end of Monkton Mill-lane the hedge on the south side of the Leam-lane, is upon the north side of the old road; and from thence, till it enters the Leamfarm, in the township of Upper Heworth, its ridge is still bold and high, and the present high-road runs upon it. From the east end of Leam-farm, to a public foot-path from Heworth White House towards Usworth, the northern hedge of the Leam-lane is generally upon the southern margin of the Old Ridgeway. The road of the present Leamhane again runs upon the old one, till it is crossed by the high-road from Newcastle to Usworth, at which place it still bears the name of Wrekendyke, and keeps it till it reaches the north-west boundary of the hamlet of Eighton Banks, where the bishop of Durham, in 1387, granted to a hermit, called Robert Lamb, an acre of land on "the north side of the ville of Eighton, near the highway leading towards Gateshead, namely, on the east side of the said way, near the rill that falls from the well called the Scottes-well, to found a chapel and hermitage upon, in honour of the Holy Trinity." The junction of several roads, like the end of a bridge, was a convenient spot for one of these pitiable enthusiasts to establish a begging station upon.

From the west end of Eighton Banks to High Eighton, the track of

Wrekendyke is still visible. Dr. Hunter, in 1750, says that "here the ridge" of it "not having been ploughed up, it is partly overgrown with broom;" and "there is a foot-path along the ridge of it."—(Hut. vol. ii. p. 613, 8vo. ed.) From High Eighton to Stanley it points in a line perfectly straight; but is wholly through inclosed grounds, passing in its course on the south side of the villages of Lamesley and Kibblesworth; on the north side of the township of Urpeth, and the south side of the manor of Causey. From Stanley, Horsley supposed it passed to Maidenlaw, and thence to the station at Lanchester;* but he found it impossible to trace its course through the bogs between Stanley and Maidenlaw.

This road not only forms a boundary between the parishes of Gateshead and Chester-le-street; and between Jarrow and Washington from the north-east corner of Eighton Banks to the foot-path from Newcastle, by Whitehouse, to Usworth; but from the first cross below that point to where it crossed the Don, at Hedworth, it was an ancient southern boundary of the possessions of the monastery of Jarrow, till the removal of the monks of that house to Durham; after which time it gradually ceased to be so, with respect to the lands on the south of it, in the township of Hedworth, the greater part of which were acquired by the Prior and Convent of Durham, in exchange for lands, in other places, with the Hedworth family.

From the pediment of the cross, which stands in the middle of Leamlane, at Whitemere Pool, to another pediment of a cross in the centre of the lane between that place and Gingling Gate, it is a boundary between the parishes of Jarrow and Boldon: and, from the last-mentioned cross to the foot-path from Whitehouse to Usworth, it divides the ville of Follensby from the township of Upper Heworth.

From the west end of Eighton Banks westward, I am not aware that it ever formed the boundary, either of any property, or of any civil or ecclesiastical division of the county. About the year 1116, the

^{*} Surtees also says the same, vol. ii. p. 305; though he quotes Hunter for an opinion that it ended at Stanley (vol. ii. p. 102 and 230). A little to the east of Lanchester Church there is a farm called the Peth House, and fourteen years since, there were remains of an old ridge-way from that house towards Holmside and Chester-le-street.

boundaries of Eighton, Lamesley, and Ravensworth, are very distinctly described in Bishop Flambard's grant of these manors to his nephew Richard; but these boundaries run very considerably both to the north and south of this antient way; a circumstance which, joined to the high antiquity of the lane that runs parallel to it from Wrekenton to Lamesley, and from thence to Kibblesworth, induces me to think that, in Flambard's time it had ceased to be a public road from Eighton Banks westward; while the names of certain places on its line, and especially of Harley Green, Lamesley, Urpeth, and Causey, remain as strong presumptive evidences, that, in some part of the Saxon æra, it was not only made use of as a boundary, but that it was paved with stone, and supposed to have been made for military purposes.

Harley Green.—Mr. Hamper, in his "Observations on Hoar Stones," communicated to myself since this paper was read before the Society, has very clearly shown that "the Greek 3,115," (which signifies both time, an hour, and a mountain), "the Latin ora, the Celtic and Welsh or and oir, the Armoric horz, the Anglo-Saxon or, ord, and ora, the obsolete British yoror, and the obsolete Irish ur and or, have all, to a certain degree, one and the self-same meaning, namely, a bound or limit" (p. 6.), and, as the lands of the little hamlet of Harley Green are bounded on the south by this branch of Wrekendike, it is fair, I think, to presume that some time prior to Flambard's episcopacy, this road, in that part of the Ravensworth estate, formed a boundary either of a public or private nature.

Lamesley, is written Lamesleya, in a charter of Richard, the nephew of Bishop Flambard. From Jarrow Slake to Wrekenton this road is called the Leam-lane: and there is a farm, in the township of Upper Heworth, called the North Leam, and one opposite it, in the ancient township of Follensby, called the South Leam. Now, while I think it probable, for I do not contend for it as a demonstrable matter, that Lamesley (which is the name of a chapelry and a village in the parish of Chesterle-street) had its name from being a lea over which this Leam or antient road passed, I think it very plain that the Leam-lane and the North and South Leam just mentioned, derived their names from it; and from the

very same reason that the numerous places called *Leam* or *Lemming* or *Lemington*, had their names, viz. because they were seated either immediately upon, or contiguous to some antient formed road.

Harrison, speaking of Erming Street, says some call it "the Lelme;" and, we have before seen, that he supposes the author of the Eulogium Historiarum mistaken, in calling Rikenild-street, "the Lelme." What is the derivation of this word Leam? Our modern words loam, signifying fat, unctuous earth; and lime, any kind of mortar, made of calcareous earth or mud, for building purposes, are of the same family as the Saxon lame and hm, which mean mud or clay, or earthen ware; lamene, claey; zeliman, to agglutinate; and liminz, a besmearing or daubing. German leim is also clay, mud, slime, potter's earth, &c.; and lemich't, clammy, claey, &c.: and these several shades of meaning are very curiously preserved in old Glanville's definition of clay, which he says "is tough earth, glewie and glemie, apte and meete to diuers works of potters."* Leam also is a word well known to every school-boy in the north of England, in the terms "a brown leamer," and "it leams well," as applied to a hazel nut, when it becomes brown and mealy ended, ripe, and ready to fall out of its husk. Were these roads, then, called leams, on account of the lightness of the friction of carriages upon them, in comparison with that on the common unformed trackways in the country? Did the wheels glide over them with some such sort of ease as clay is fashioned into earthen-ware on the potter's lathe, or as a full ripe nut turns out of its husk? This conjecture, I think, assumes additional strength from the import of a word of similar sound and kindred meaning in the old Norske and Islandic languages, in which hlemmi, signifies to smooth; hlemmi-gate, a very smooth way; and hlemmi-skeid, a very easy carriage. The term, however, may be of British origin, for, as I have shewn in another place, t since this paper was written, mention is twice made of "the formed way of Lleminig" in Aneurin's Gododin.

I shall now endeavour to show that the township of URPETH derived its name from its contiguity to this road.

^{*} De Proprietatibus Rerum, lib. xvi. c. 2. fol. 253. b. "An unctuous thing is meane between a gleymie and vaporative thing."—Ib.

⁺ Hist. of North. part ii. vol. 1.

"Walterus de Urpethe," Lord of Urpeth, when T. Emericus, Archdeacon of Durham, and Phillip de Hulecot were guardians of the see of Durham, in the latter end of the reign of King John, granted a third part of the ville of Pokerley, in the parish of Chester-le-street, to Daniel de Pokerley, and one of the witnesses to the deed is "Alanus de Hurphath."

"Walterus de Hurpath" also occurs as a witness to a deed respecting lands in Pokerley, when Alexander de Bidic was Sheriff of Durham.*

In the laws of Henry the First, and in the chapter "concerning the right of the King," it is said that "every Here-street wholly belongs to the King."

In the laws of Edward the Confessor it is enacted, that "in every county there shall be one *Heretoch*, chosen by election, to lead the army of the county according to the command of the King." Also, that a "Folkmote ought to be holden in each county, on the first of the kalends of October, to provide there who shall be Sheriff, and who shall be *Heretoches*."†

I will add another example of the meaning of *Here*, when it is applied to military persons. Bede, speaking of the Angles, says:—"Their first leaders are reported to have been two brothers, Hengist and Horsa,"‡ which sentence is thus rendered by Alfred. "Wæron tha ærest heora latteowas and heretogan twegen gebrothra Hengest and Horsa."

From these quotations it is plain, that here in Here-street and in Heretogan have the same meaning as the adjectives army or military: and hence that Urpath or Herpath may mean the military way: but as the Roman road from Lanchester to South Shields passed very near the northern boundary of that estate, the most probable conjecture perhaps is, that here, as in numerous other places, the word means simply the Boundary way.

^{*} Surt. Dur. vol. ii. p. 195. † Wilk. Leges Sax. p. 205.

¹ Duces fuisse perhibentur corum primi duo fratres Hengist and Horsa.—Smith's. Ed. p. 53.

[§] Mr. Hamper by favouring the author with his "Observations on Hoar Stones," has enabled him to add the latter and new definition of *Her*, *Har*, and *Hor*, as they occur in such words as Herpeth, Harestone, &c., which definition he is now fully satisfied is the right one. There are

CAWSEY is a manor lying to the west of Urpeth, and had this road running through it. Its name is probably from the same source as the French word chaussée, or the English causey (corruptly written causeway) which means a foot-road; and in monkish Latin is rendered by calceata or calcetum, because such a road was calcatum, trodden upon. In 1399 the name of this place is written Cauce, when Bertram Monboucher held it of Aline Conyers.* Cawsey Park, in Northumberland, adjoined the highway from Morpeth to Felton, and in a record of the time of Henry the Third, is written la Chauce.† In the 42d year of the same reign, an inquest is dated "apud Calcetum;"‡ and in 38 Hen. VIII. it is called Cawse Parke. §

After Wrekendike passed Cawsey I am not well acquainted with its course. Dr. Hunter, as has been observed, supposed that it ended at Stanley, which is a manor to the west of Cawsey, and has a square entrenchment on the height called Stanley Hill, where several Roman coins are said to have been found. But Horsley heard a traditionary account of Wrekendike passing by Stanley to Lanchester; and "was assured at Lanchester that several trees had been dug up on the moor," west of Beamish, "which had been cut down with an axe, possibly to clear the way. And if trees have been sunk so much below the surface into the ground, no wonder if a heavy military way be much more so;" and while I resided at Lanchester, from Easter, 1804, to August, 1806, I remember that I supposed I could see traces of it at Maidenlaw, and a little to the east of that place: and my opinion is, that it ran from Causey, thence through the north side of the manor of Stanley by the Shieldrow, which I take to be the place that in an old deed, dated at Stanley

numerous places in Northumberland in which her, har, hor, and hare, enter into composition in that sense, as Hordon-edge, Herpeth, Harewillows, Harehope, Harbottle, Horton, Harelawe, &c. &c.:—and "the Harestone at Edinburgh," noticed by Mr. Hamper, stands on the edge of the Borough-moor there, on the boundary between the town's property and that of Marchiston. It was in this stone (probably once a boundary cross) that James the Fourth of Scotland fixed his standard, before he commenced his march into England, and to his overthrow and death at the battle of Floddon Field.—(See Scott's Marmion, and Provin. Antiq. of Scot. p. 111.)

^{*} Surt. Dur. vol. ii. p. 219. † Hist. Northumb. Part III. vol. i. p. 216. ‡ Sir Richard Heron's. Pedigsee, p. 5. § Harl. MS. 757, p. 266. § Surt. Hist. Dur. vol. ii. p. 230. ¶ Brit. Rom. p. 451.

in 1908, is called the "Schelis, near the Pethe, between Petheburne and Lyhtburne." Peth and path are the same.

Speaking of the materials of which this road was made, Horsley says "it consists of firm gravel and sand, very hard and compact, so as to make a very good way at this time (1731) at all seasons of the year. I also believe it had a mixture of stone, or somewhat of pavement:"'t and in another place he observes, that his uncle's gardener, at Cousen's House, assured him " that he had seen, and helped to dig up some stones out of Wrekendike (which he called Brackendike), so that he was altogether of opinion that this part of it," through Ravensworth estate, "was paved." About twelve years since I also recollect having had its line shewn to me over the newly inclosed grounds on the south side of Blackburn Fell, along which the pavement of it had sunk below the surface of the earth; and was then dug up to be used in the new fences. In one part, on that tract, which is a little to the south-west of Kibblesworth, very great quantities of querns were found. The lessee of the farm called the North Leam, also assured me, that he had frequently met with parts of its pavement, along the southern boundary of his grounds: and I remember having myself seen the border-stones of its pavement for several yards together, both between the Ginglinggate and White-mere-pool, and along the elevated ridge of this road opposite to South Wardley. All these traces, however, have vanished before the hand of modern improvement.

The subject I have been discussing, though full of local curiosity, does not seem to be fruitful in useful conclusions. The following observations may not, however, be thought to be unappropriately appended to this paper.

^{*} Hoc scrptū cyrographatū testatr q^d Will's deKyrkenny d'ns de Staneley concessit et dimisit Will'o fil. Radi ffader de Vrpeth, totam terram illā toftū et coftum cum omīb; edificys in dto. tofto sitis et costruct, que Rob'ts, de Pickering prus tenuit in le Schelis iuxta le Peth sicut iacent inter Petheburne et Lyhtburn. Habend, &c. ad t'm vite sue &c. Reddendo &c. octodecim solid. & vnū denar argenti &c. Hiis testib; Joh'e de Birteley seniore. Ada de Holmset. Joh'e de Edmaunisley. Will'o de Linze. Hugone de Grendale. Rob'to del Ouerton de Linze, et aliis. Dat. apud Staneley die M'cur. in Vigilia Assumpcionis be' Marie. Anno d'ni Millmot rcentes^{mo} octauo.—(From the original in the Treas. of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.)

[†] Brit. Rom. p. 452.

- 1. The number of names, which the lands and places along this line of road have derived from it, very distinctly points out the assistance that might be expected in tracing the lines of other antient roads, by proper enquiries being made after the names of the villages, fields, and streams that adjoin them.
- 2. By the branch of Watling-street, that passed through Lanchester by way of Corbridge, through Redesdale into Scotland, the distance is many miles nearer to the Frith of Forth, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, than it is by the way that passed into that country from Binchester by Chester-le-street and Newcastle into the north. For the purposes of traffic, therefore, along the main line of central communication between London and the northern parts of the Roman dominions in Britain, a road from the mouth of the Tyne to Lanchester, could not be without important advantages, both with respect to imported and exported goods, and for military operations. From the Roman station, on the site of which the present church of Jarrow is built, to where Wrekendike crosses the Don below Hedworth, that stream is navigable at high water, and consequently afforded a convenient place for the delivery of goods, either to be sent into the country or brought from it by this road. Corn, I believe, was one of the principal exports from the eastern shores of Britain in the Roman age; considerable quantities of it were shipped for the garrisons on the Rhine:* and extensive tracts of land upon our commons, which before their inclosure, were marked with ridges and furrows, showed how extensively the Romans had ploughed the country before it was portioned out by their Saxon followers.
- 3. That the Romans made use of this road for architectural purposes is also plain, from the great quantities of magnesian limestone, such as is found in the Marsden and Fulwell hills, still to be seen in the field walls on the north side of the Roman station at Lanchester.

 J. H.

Upper Heworth, 16th October, 1822.

^{*} Ammian Marcel. l. viii. c. 2. ed. Bip. i. 160.

No. XV.—An Account of the Life and Writings of Richard Dawes, A. M. late Master of the Royal Grammar School, and of the Hospital of St. Mary, in the Westgate, in Newcastle upon Tyne. By the Rev. John Hodgson, Sec.



L NICHOLSON DEL. BY SCULP

DAWES' HOUSE, HEWORTH-SHORE.

Though the subject of this Memoir died only about 61 years since, and, after the death of Bentley, stood pre-eminently at the head of Greek literature, in these kingdoms; yet so little is known, or to be gleaned from the publications of his time, respecting him, that, to compile an account of his life becomes a matter of difficult antiquarian research. He was one, who, in the imaginary maze of lines which the force of ambition and self-interest press in concentric circles towards the throne, like planets of the largest

size and dimmest light, moved in the widest of these circles, and was, therefore, little noticed. In the earlier years of his life he appeared, indeed, for a short time on the stage of human life, among the champions of literature, wielding his weapons with the mightiest, and receiving the praises of the wisest: but a cloud of apprehensions came over his mind, that he was assailed on every side with the arrows of ingratitude and persecution, and he threw aside his armour and walked gloomily away from the contentions for honour and the post of usefulness, to hold conversations in the obscurity of rural life, with unlearned men and his own The deer, which finds itself smitten, fearful of being gored deeper by its own species, rushes to the woods, and dies unseen; and the Indian of the New World, when he feels the pestilence of the hot savannahs working in his frame, retires from the companions of his journey into a thicket, and, covering his body with his mantle, resigns himself to death. There are no sufferings, which neglected and melancholy pride cannot treat with indifference.

Richard Dawes, a critic and grammarian, of great celebrity, was born in 1708. The place of his birth has not been exactly ascertained; but the hamlet of Stapleton, in the parish of Market-Bosworth, in Leicestershire, is said to be entitled to that honour; for a Dr. Dawes, who had the character of being a great scholar, and was, according to the fashion of his time, a searcher after the Philosopher's Stone, resided there in the beginning of the last century, and is supposed to have been his father, though the register of Barwell, which is the name of the parish in which Stapleton is situated, contains no evidence of the fact. All the tradition, that the author of the *History of Leicestershire* could hear on the subject, was, that he was born in Market-Bosworth, or somewhere in that neighbourhood.

Though I can see no reason to dispute his being a Leicestershire man, yet, my apprehension is, that he was descended from a Westmorland family, who were long seated in the parishes of Barton and Bampton, in that county. Dr. Lancelot Dawes, one of the founders of Barton School, was a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, became a Prebendary of Carlisle and Rector of Asby, and Vicar of Barton. He purchased of

the Hodgsons of Barton a moiety of the rectorial tythes of that parish,* which descended to his nephew, Thomas, who had two sons, Lancelot and John. This Dr. Dawes died in 1653. A family of the same name also had property in Martindale, in the same parish, and, if my conjecture be right was that from which Richard Dawes originated. The grounds for this conjecture are stated in the following genealogical sketch.

> L. Philip Jackson, a relation of Thomas Jackson (a), a celebrated schoolmaster at Bampton, in Westmorland, who died in 1719: and also of Richard Jackson, who was successively master of the Grammar Schools of Bampton, Kendal, and Appleby, in the time of Charles the Second, and one of the most eminent teachers of his time." This Philip died Dec. 2, 1824.

Jane, who died Oct. 20, 1739, aged 70.

1. Philip Jackson died Sep.11,1770, aged 72.

Isabella, widow of Rich. 2. Martha Jack-Allison, who was a conveyancer at Rosegill, in Westmorland. Her maiden name was probably Hobson. She

resided at one time at the first house above Measend-becks, on the margin of the lake Haws-water, in Mardale, and there, about 50 years since had a sale, at which the Rev. John Bowstead, B.D. the present master of Bempton School bought two or three sacks full of Greek and Latin books, which, if my

married BOD Wm. Judson, and died June 14, 1781, aged 3. Olave Jackson died unmarried, March 10, 1793, aged 93.

4. Mary Jackson married John Dawes, had an estate in Martindale, in the parish of Barton, which he sold to Richard Mounsey, of Butterwick, near Bampton.

memory serves me rightly, he used to say had belonged to a great scholar of the name of Dawes, who had resided near Newcastle upon Tyne, and was someway related to Mrs. Jackson. I well recollect some of the books being much benoted with critical remarks, on their margins. Mrs. Jackson died only a very few years since at Hornby in Lancashire.

III. 1. died an infant. 2. Philip Jackson died 3. John Jackson Esq. author

in Jamaica.

of a "Journey from India towards England in the

year 1797, by a Route commonly called Overland, &c. London, 1799." He sold an estate in Bampton Grange, which he inherited from his father, to Mr. Dawes, a banker in London.

1. John Dawes, a merchant in London, died without issue.

2. Thomas, also a merchant 3 Dawes, a banker, in London, died without issue.

in London, of the house "Dawes, Devaynes, and

Noble." He left issue who inherit property from him in Bampton Grange.

(a) "Utrumque docuit Gibeonum, alterum Cl. Lincolnias præsulem, alterumColl. Reg. Oxon. præpositum, et aliquos plurimos, qui patriæ simul et acholæ sunt ornamenta."—(M. I. Hist. Westm. p. 463.)

He also built the Vicarage House of Barton, and his great nephew, Lancelot Dawes, married Frances, daughter of Thomas Fletcher, of Strickland, Esq. and wrote a remarkable epitaph to her memory, which is printed in Burn and Nicholson's History of Westmorland. For some notices respecting the Hodgsons of Barton Kirk (of whom Dr. Dawes purchased a part of the great tithes of This connection by marriage between Mrs. Jackson and the family of Dawes, was, I apprehend, the reason why the effects of Richard Dawes fell into her hands; and the hints here thrown together, may possibly serve as a useful clue to any future investigator, who may wish to make further researches into the pedigree of the family from which Dawes was descended.

Mr. Dawes's birth-place and parentage are not, however, the only obscure places in the history of his early life: it is equally uncertain where, or under whom, he received the first rudiments of his education: for though it is known that he had the advantage of the lectures of Anthony Blackwall, in the school of Market-Bosworth; yet because that excellent teacher and grammarian did not remove to that place, from Derby, till 1722, Dawes could not be less than fourteen years old, when he first became his pupil, and must, of course, at that period of life, have made considerable progress in classical learning. Under that able instructor it is, however, probable that he first began to be initiated into those mysteries of grammar, which can never be made intelligible to ordinary minds; but which gradually unfolded to his understanding the niceties and beauties of the antient Hellenick tongues.

That his parents were not wealthy may be inferred from his entering Cambridge as a scholar of the lowest rank; for, in 1725, when he was then only about 17 years old, he was admitted a sizar of Emanuel College, in that University.

Two years after his matriculation he published a "Therno-thriambic Idyl," intituled "The Lamentation of the University of Cambridge for the Death of George the First, the beneficent King of Great Britain;

that parish) see also the same work, p. 401, line 44, and pp. 404 and 406. They generally wrote their name *Hudson*; though George Hudson, mentioned by Burn at p. 404, is called George Hodgsone in Bishop Barnes' Survey, and the name of his ancestor (who married Elizabeth Lancaster, a descendant of Ivo de Taylboys, a great captain of the conquerer) is written "John Hodgson" (*Idem.* p. 401 and 31—34). A great author, however, speaking of the origin of English surnames, says "one is called Hodgeson if his father were Roger;" and "Hodson comes from *Hod* or *Oddo*" (*Remains*, &c. p. 92—115). Cadets of this family of Hodgson are still seated in Martindale, and a branch of them resided in the beginning of the last century in Glenridden, in Paterdale, and afterwards in the parishes of Shap and Bampton, in Westmorland, the ascending line of which last branch is, at present, as follows:—Richard-Wellington son of John, son of Isaac, son of John, son of Isaac of Glenridden.

and her rejoycings on the peaceful and auspicious succession of the most potent prince George the Second, the heir of his father's virtues and throne. Cambridge, 1727." This performance is a good-tempered dialogue between one Palæmon, and two young men, who, from their names, Damœtas and Thyrsis, might, like the Corydon and Thyrsis of Virgil, be supposed to be

Ambo florentes ætatibus, Arcades ambo;

for he introduces them, as

"Aufo ausspertar didanusra, aufo aufur-

a line which, in justice to the verse of Theocritus,

"Αμφω συρίσδει δεδαιμένω, ἄμφω ἀείδει,

ought to have appeared between quotations. This Pastoral is in 89 lines, and has been reprinted by Mr. Kidd, who remarks, "that if one of Dawes's pupils, in after years, had made the first syllable of have, short, as he has done in this juvenile composition, the offender would certainly have had to tremble under the ferula of this flogging Orbilius, who, for one sin of false quantity, would have made his skin as black and blue as his nurse's cloak."

In 1729, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and on the 2d of October, 1731, was chosen a Fellow of his own College on the nomination of Sir Wolstan Dixie, Bart. who was a Market-Bosworth man, and probably patronized him before he went to the University. In 1733 he obtained the degree of Master of Arts; and, in the following year, was an unsuccessful candidate for the office of Esquire Beadle, in Cambridge. That his talents had now brought him into celebrity, may be inferred from the struggle he made for that situation; but what were the causes of his disappointment, and the effects of it upon his own mind, are no where related. The indolent and sedentary way in which he is said to have lived, while he was at Cambridge, probably originated in a melancholy turn of mind, which loved to indulge itself in solitary contemplations of its own powers, and to look down upon the trifling labours and intriguing schemes of the society that was about him, with a sort of misanthropic scorn; and to vent its embittered feelings in such harsh and sarcastic expresssions as created him more enemies among the busy and self-interested many, than the splendour of his talents could procure him friends among the generous and learned few. His temper, too, was exceedingly irascible; and Dr. Kippis says, that, while he was at Cambridge, "he distinguished himself by some peculiarities of conduct;" and occasionally "took such liberties, on certain topics, as gave great offence to those about him."

One of his peculiarities is related. When care for his health compelled him to rouse himself out of the state of bodily inactivity into which his leisure and studies had brought him, he chose bell-ringing as an exercise, and "being of a strong athletic frame of body," and impelled in every thing in which he engaged by "such a genius" as "could not stop at mediocrity, he quickly became the leader of the band, and carried the art to the highest perfection." The stage of this new performance was in the tower of the church of St. Mary-the-Great, in Cambridge, to the ringers of the peal of bells in which Margaret of Richmond* had bequeathed a certain allowance of ale, in which Dawes made no scruple of indulging, after a long lesson in campanology: and, on such occasions, he seasoned "the nut brown draughts" with a spicery of wit and humour, in which he was rich and overflowing, when his spirits were high enough to bring him into the kind of company in which he delighted. The pungency and perfume of his mirth and raillery were not, however, of a kind to be relished over potations of a politer kind than ale; and his want of success in being promoted to the office he had lately aspired to, may be fairly enough attributed to his associating with companions unsuitable to a gownsman, and amusing them with humour and opinions, which became the subject of conversations, and were at variance with the prevailing opinions of the University. This anecdote in bell-ringing is given by Mr. Kidd, on the authority of the late Dr. Paley's father, who had many humourous tales respecting Dawes, and had been a crony of his at Cambridge, where they studied Terence and Bentley's Explication together.

[•] Margaret daughter and heir of John, Duke of Somerset, grandson of John of Gaunt? She married —Firstly, Edm. Earl of Richmond, by whom she became mother of Hen. VII.; secondly, Henry, son of Humph. Duke of Buckingham; and thirdly, Tho. Stanley, Earl of Derby. She was also the founder of Christ's College, Cambridge. (Dug. Bar. II. 237, and Burn's Eccl. Law under Monasteries.)

On the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales in 1736, his talent for Greek versification was a second time called into action in an epithalamium under the following title, "The congratulation of the University of Cambridge, on the very auspicious marriage of Frederick Prince of Wales and Augusta Princess of Saxe-Gotha. Cambridge, printed at the University Press. 1736." It consists of 50 hexameter lines; and is reprinted in Mr. Kidd's Appendix.

In the same year "Proposals" were issued "for printing, by subscription, the First Book of Paradise Lost, rendered into Greek Verse, with Notes by Richard Dawes, M. A., Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge." The original title is in Latin, and accompanied with a specimen of the translation of the apostrophe, which commences with

"Where joy for ever dwells," ————and ends with the line

"Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven."

He proposed to put the book to press "as soon as a competent number had subscribed;" and to "proceed to the second book, and so on, if he met with sufficient encouragement." This tract has also been re-printed, and its "Specimen" commented upon by Mr. Kidd. The translator, indeed, soon found occasion to quarrel with it himself. The search he was daily making into the minutiæ and niceties of the Greek language, the discoveries which his own sagacity first elicited, and the ordinary effect of application gradually gave him such enlarged and luminous views into the subject of his favourite study, as to make him dissatisfied with a work from the publication of which he had, a year or two ago, expected to be gratified with the approbation of scholars. But where is the composition in which an acute and fastidious mind cannot discover some fault? When he began to review his translation of Milton, or, as he calls it, "to prune his vines," he found it full of grammatical inaccuracies (solæcismis scatere); and ingenuously took occasion to quarrel, even with the first word in the specimen which he gave in his proposal, and pointed out seven other errors or improprieties in language, which he

was not aware that any one else had detected.* Dr. Kippis remarks that "it was customary with him, in conversation, humourously to expose his version to ridicule, and, therefore, though he had actually completed his design, by translating the whole First Book of the Paradise Lost, it is no wonder that he did not commit it to press."

We come now to an important æra of his life. At the age of thirty, on the 10th of July, 1738, he was appointed Head-Master of the Royal Grammar School in Newcastle upon Tyne, and, on the 9th of October following, was admitted to the concurrent office of Master of the Hospital of St. Mary the Virgin, in the Westgate, in that town. Prior to his election these offices had been frequently filled by men of the first talent. Rudd, a famous grammarian and antiquary, and Dr. Jurin (before he sat in the chair of the College of Physicians, and became Secretary to the Royal Society in London), successively held them; and, in selecting Dawes to preside over a seminary that ranked in the highest scale of reputation among similar institutions in the north of England, we cannot suppose that the Common Council of Newcastle were guided in their choice by motives of favouritism; but brought into their town a person who had begun to shine in the bright constellation of learned men that illuminated the reign of George the Second. He had now been thirteen years, five as a student, nine as a graduate, and seven as a fellow. enjoying the academic advantages of one of the first universities of the world; every day in company with the learned members of the society to which he belonged; and storing his mind with the species of literature which his genius inclined him to, and which peculiarly fitted him to excel as a master in a great public school.

For some time after he settled in Newcastle no mention of him occurs. Nothing is said of him, either as a teacher or as an author. He only, however, retires for a short time out of notice to re appear in the eyes of every genuine scholar in a new and splendid character, touching with talismanic hand, the obscurities and inaccuracies which perplexed the poetry of antient Greece and Rome, and converting them into their primitive forms and beauty.

Some time previous to the year 1745, he addressed "to the Rev. Dr. Taylor," a letter, dated "Newcastle, May 31st," but without adding the year. Dr. Taylor himself was an eminent classical scholar, a commentator on the works of Lysias and Demosthenes, author of a wellknown work on the "Elements of the Civil Law," and a distinguished antiquary. He had somewhere "advanced that the ancient Greeks expressed the power EI by the single vowel E. The authorities to which he had appealed, seemed to" Mr Dawes "to be inconclusive," on which account he hinted to him "such objections as the principal of those authorities seemed liable to, desiring at the same time," that if Dr. Taylor could furnish any more "he would be so kind as to communicate them." That "favour" was "readily granted" and, in the letter before us, Mr. Dawes, with great acuteness and power of argument, makes it appear that the authorities upon which Dr. Taylor "built his hypothesis, are not able to support it." Much of the reasoning advanced in this letter appeared soon after in a printed form. But, besides its being written in a clear and nervous style, and being an excellent specimen of our author's talent in controversial criticism: it contains, in its concluding paragraph, a full developement of his literary plans. "I am preparing," says he, "for the press, a volume in the critical way (which I shall desire the favour of you to revise), with the following inscription:—EMENDATIONES in Poetas Græcos, Aristophanem, Euripidem, Sophoclem, Eschylum, Callimachum, Theocritum, Pindarum, Hesiodum, Homerum. Præmittitur Dissertatio de præcipuis Poetarum dramaticorum Metris, uti et de Accentibus cum чыстиры tum veris. Hanc excipiunt Animadversiones in Cl. Bentleij Emendationes in duas priores Aristophanis Fabulas. In Præfatione autem disseritur de Aspiratione vau prout in Sermone Homerico obtine-Agmen extremum claudunt alteræ Animadversiones in Phileleutheri Lipsiensis sive Bentleij Emendationes in Meandri et Philemonis Reliquias." "I have", he continues, "a pretty large apparatus out of which these emendations will be selected; upon Aristophanes, in particular, about 1500."

^{*} Printed first at the end of Bentley's Letters, by Bulmer, London, 1807; and secondly in Kidd's second edition of the Miscellanea Critica.

In 1745, the prefatory part of this plan appeared in his great and only published work on Emendatory Criticism, under the title of MISCELLANEA CRITICA.* The first five pages of the address to the reader are taken up with discussing the "solecisms" committed in the specimen of his Greek translation of Paradise Lost. Then he proceeds to state that he had judged it better to employ the little leisure he enjoyed in correcting the works of the antient Greek poets, than in perfecting his promised Translation; and that, he hoped, that the ingenuous severity he had employed over his own performance, might be advanced as a proof that, when he had found occasion to differ in opinion with learned men, he had not done so from the motive of lessening their merit, but of being of service to sound learning. The subjects treated upon in the five sections of the work are as follow:—

- I. "Select emendations of Terentianus Maurus," who was a grammarian about the beginning of the third century; and wrote in Latin verse, on the powers of letters and the laws of metre.
- II. "Examples of the want of accuracy in the Oxford edition of Pindar." In this section he displays an accurate knowledge of the prosody and structure of Pindar's stanzas; and great skill and sagacity in detecting the errors committed by transcribers of manuscript copies, and editors of the printed editions of the "deep-mouthed" bard.
- III. "On the true enunciation of the Greek language. The reason and design of the Attic futures varying from the Ionic. The different use of the subjunctive and optative moods. Errors committed in the syllabic quantity of certain words, by [Bentley] the late editor of Callimachus. Emendations of Callimachus." Bentley, in 1741, the year before he died, had
- *" Miscellanea Critica in Sectiones quinque dispartita. Scripsit Richardus Dawes, A. M. Coll: Emman. apud Cantabrigienses non ita pridem Socius; hodie Ludo Literario et Gerontocomio apud Novocastrenses Præfectus. Cantabrigiæ Typis academicis excudit J. Bentham. Veneunt apud Gul. Thurlbourn Cantab. et Johan. Beecroft, Lond. MDCCXLV." The volume is in octavo, and contains 356 pages, of which 8 at the end are taken up with "Addenda et Corrigenda," besides the leaf containing the title page, vii pages of preface, and another leaf for the title of the 5 sections into which the work is divided. Mr. Hubbard, who was Senior Fellow of Emmanuel, and Dr. Mason, of Trinity College, assisted in carrying the work through the press; and Bishop Burgess, says, that Dr. Farmer, who was Master of Emmanuel, showed him a MS. of Dawes, which contained the substance of the Miscellanea, which their author had enriched with a vast store of erudition in his printed work.

published a Collection of the Fragments of Callimachus with Annotations, to which he appended the remains of Theognis. The edition upon the whole has been considered good. But Dawes despised the editor's learning; and, therefore, assailed his literary fame in this section. had, indeed, in the first section, said, of the great champion against the genuineness of the Epistles attributed to Phalaris, that "he knew nothing of Greek, but from indexes": and, though he took care not to differ with him, in print, till he was dead, it is still to be borne in mind that it required great boldness and consciousness of his own powers and attainments to assail the literary memory of a man, who had reigned so many years over the republic of classical learning in England. This section. however, abating its severity, must always be considered as a master-piece of grammar and profound criticism: bitter and sarcastic at its beginning; as it proceeds, ironical in its interrogatories and contemptuous in its exclamations; and, at its end, overpowering and triumphant. His observations on some of the Greek moods and tenses, contain distinctions, which were unknown to grammarians before his time.

IV. An Essay both on the prosodical and analogical Power of the Consonant, or aspiration, Vau, as it is retained in the text of Homer. This section also is a master-piece of investigation, in which the origin and power of the Vau, or Æolic Digamma F, are clearly traced and illustrated; and in which some of Bentley's notions are successfully ridiculed and refuted. The Digamma was pronounced like the English W. It was a favourite subject of its author, and, in illustration of it, he brought such a force of clear and convincing evidence, as to obtain among the scholars of his day, the epithet of Æolic Digamma Dawes. It is, however, certain that some of his positions in this section are incorrect, especially where he affirms, against Bentley, that Homer wrote in the Ionic, and not in the Æolic dialect, a subject which the Bishop of Salisbury has treated and settled with great skill in his commentary on this chapter.

V. The Design of the Ictus or Accents observed by the Attic Greeks. Select Emendations to each of the Plays of Aristophanes. Miscellaneous Observations on Euripides, Sophocles and Æschylus. This section occupies nearly half the book, and contains much information, especially in

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prosody, which was, in a great measure, new to the critical world when it was published. Reiske, an author who knew well enough how to blow hot and cold on the same subject, has observed of the whole book, that it is rich in excellent matter from beginning to end, but that in the fifth section, which is the best, the Greek dramatists, and Aristophanes especially, are touched with such a masterly hand, that he who wishes to feast on the honey of Attic comedy must never want this work. "The great Valkner too, and his excellent disciples, Pierson and Koen, have spoken of it in terms of distinguished commendation." Bowyer and others, in consideration of the author's intimate acquaintance with the niceties and elegances of the Greek language, conferred on him the epithet of Engrapherary, and Mr. Tate has also very justly observed, that Dawes's "contributions to metrical knowledge can never be estimated too highly," while of himself it may with equal justice be said, that, on this nice, curious, and scholar-like subject, he has, in his "Introduction to the principal tragic and common Metres," taken the most accurate survey that has hitherto been made of it, and reduced it into a clear and comprehensive form; and in his "Canones Dawesiani xi," has, with great skill, extracted the principal of Dawes's doctrines on the subject of Greek Syntax, and illustrated them with admirable force and fulness of examples.*

To these testimonies of learned men to the excellence of the *Miscellanea Critica*, numerous others, both of our own and foreign countries, might be advanced from the memoir on its author by Dr. Kippis, and from the elaborate prefaces to it by Dr. Burgess and Mr. Kidd. Brunck held it in the highest estimation, and recommended it in the warmest terms to every scholar; and the works of Musgrave, Tyrwhitt, and Porson are scattered with enconiums upon it: but the reception it met with in its author's life time, and the high reputation in which it has ever since been holden by scholars are still more strongly shown, by the number of editions it has gone through.

Dr. Burgess, the present Bishop of Salisbury, in 1781, published a new edition of it, which he dedicated to Thomas Tyrwhitt, the illustrious

^{*} Gibson's Theatre of the Greeks. Camb. 1827, p. 386 and 450.

editor of Aristotle's Poetics, and annotator upon the works of Chaucer and Shakspeare. It was enriched with a new preface of 42 pages containing notices respecting Dawes's life and a luminous review of the Miscellanea Critica, to which he appended 188 pages of annotations and six copious and useful indexes of matters treated upon in the original text of Dawes and in the editor's own prefaces and appendix. This edition issued from the Clarendon Press: it was a juvenile undertaking, and raised its editor into high celebrity among critics and scholars. The indexes to it are a proof of the high estimation in which Dr. Burgess held that species of literary keys: and of the disregard he had for Dawes's sneer over the memory of Bentley—that he knew nothing of Greek but from indexes. This edition by Dr. Burgess was reprinted at Leipsic in 1800.

In 1817 Mr. Kidd, the learned editor of Opuscula Ruhnkeniana, gave the public a fourth edition of this work accompanied with considerable additions to the notes upon the text and the notices respecting the author's life by the Bishop of Salisbury; and in 1827 a 65th edition of the original work in which the prefaces are still further enlarged, the notes enriched with new reasoning and illustrations, and a curious appendix given of the author's proposals for printing his Greek translation of the first book of Paradise Lost, the letter to Dr. Taylor already noticed, and extracts from advertisements and pamphlets, which originated in disputes with the people of Newcastle after the publication of the Miscellanea Critica.

But, after witnessing the flattering reception the Miscellania Critics met with, at its first appearance, and, seeing it soon ranked among the best standard books, and largely and luminously commented upon, it is only justice to observe that it is not without its peculiarities and faults. Dr. Burgess has noticed the inconvenience of its method of joining two words in one, instead of using the apostrophe where the laws of verse require that a letter or syllable should be omitted where a word ending with a vowel, is succeeded by one beginning with a vowel, as yes for y'as, yourselss for yourselss, as for a se, besides the omission of the accents on Greek words, and other similar peculiarities, which might not meet

adepts in Greek in the form of difficulties, but could not fail to impede and perplex the way of a tyro. Mr. Tate has also observed that "a very useful article might be formed under the name 'Errores Dawesiani;'" for "the detection of ingenious error in clever men affords instruction as well as amusement, if properly considered. The quick may learn modesty and the slow may derive encouragement from the same lesson."— (Gibson's Theatre of the Greeks, p. 351.) Perhaps the greatest fault of the book is its style, which by being over curiously and artificially constructed is often difficult, and sometimes obscure. It is rapid, forcible. and pure, but like a full stream rushing over a confined and inclining bed, it sometimes becomes too deep to be translucent to ordinary eyes. It is more copious than graceful. The sentences are dressed in such succinct and idiomatic brevity, that one, who wishes to admire the beauty of its reasoning, must not be a stranger to the niceties of phraseology in fashion among the Latin authors of the Augustan age. The book, at any rate, can be useful only to scholars; and, commercially speaking, its Latingarb may have procured it a more extensive circulation, in foreign countries, than it could have obtained if it had been originally published in English; but, when it is considered that the true intent of critical books is to give facility to students in obtaining a knowledge of the subjects they treat upon, it cannot but be matter of regret that such knowledge should often be clouded and obscured by an affectation of acquaintance with uncommon words and modes of phraseology: and that Mr. Dawes's book did not appear at first in English is to be still more deeply regretted, since we have become acquainted with his masterly style of writing in that language, in his letter to Dr. Taylor. Is there no one to be found with leisure and ability to translate this excellent work, and thereby to give to minds that travel slowly through the literature of Greece and Rome, accompanied as they go with grammarians and lexicographers for their guides, some opportunity of beholding and enjoying the beauties of that rich and ever-varying scenery, which charm the fleet and wingfooted sons of Hermes in their aerial excursions over the gardens of antient Hellenic and Roman poetry?

In closing the view of Dawes's critical labours, it is natural to turn

to himself, and observe with what effect upon his own mind he watched their reception in the world. Had he firmness to sit in the complacent enjoyment of self-approbation, conscious of the benefits he had conferred upon his own profession, and regardless alike of the approving voice of genuine learning, the detraction of envy, and the common-place criticisms of the multitude of the wise? There were times when neither admiration, nor envy, nor vulgar wisdom, could find any pleasure in his company; when mercy and pity were the only beings that could be gratified by visiting him; when praise fell upon him as cheerlessly as sunshine comes over sorrow. Dr. Keppis has observed that the peculiarities of conduct, by which he was distinguished at the universities. "probably arose from a dash of insanity in his constitution." I wish I could have dashed this assertion out of the page of history, and thrown a veil of everlasting oblivion over it. For who is there who does not feel the best and holiest sympathies of his nature afflicted, and shudder, when he recollects how many powerful minds, the sun of whose genius could have dimmed all the intellectual constellations around them, have nevertheless been subjected to have their understandings darkened by this "heaviest of human afflictions," and themselves made the sport of ignorance and folly.

"From this day forth
I'll use you for my mirth, yea, for my laughter
When you are waspish,"

was a threat, the bitterness of which, from the morbid irritability of his mind, poor Dawes too often tasted. "He fancied that all his friends had slighted him or used him ill: and of the jealousy of his temper he has left a remarkable instance on a very trifling occasion. His printer, by an unfortunate mistake in a passage of *Terentianus Maurus*, which Mr. Dawes had produced in order to correct, had inserted a comma that destroyed the merit of the emendation. In consequence of this involuntary error, our author in the addenda to his *Miscellanea* has expressed himself with great indignation. He declares he could not conjecture what fault he had committed against the printer, that he should envy him the honour, whatever it was, that was due to his

correction: and he adds, that he knows not how it happened, that for several years past he had been ill used by those from whom he had deserved better treatment."*

Dr. Parr told Mr. Tate that the Emanuel men of Dawes's standing were all Tories little short of Jacobites. Hence, in the violence of party spirit, they carried their dislike to Bentley to the greatest height. Old Harry Hubbard who was senior fellow of that college, and an excellent man, but no lover of the Georges, in conjunction with Dr. Mason, assisted, as has been observed, in carrying the Miscellanea through the But I do not see that Dawes's uncourtly mode of speaking of Bentley is to be attributed to bitterness of party feeling. His odes on the death of George the First, the accession of George the Second, and the marriage of Frederick Prince of Wales, if they are to be attributed to honest feeling, are proofs of his attachment to the interest of the House of Brunswick. Besides which, he says himself that after he had given a specimen of his severity over his own errors, he hoped it would be taken as a proof, that as often as he had occasion to differ from learned men and to charge them with errors, it was not done from a wish to detract from their true merits, but solely for the improvement of genuine learning. I would, therefore, attribute his complaints against the defection and ingratitude of his friends, as well as his asperity of criticism, to the saddening effects of temporary delusion: when he was in his better moments and his reason was fully capable of resolving the darkest critical difficulties, there was still a gloom and despondency over all the views that connected him with humanity. It was on this account that his "situation at Newcastle was neither so happy nor so useful as might have been expected:" this failure in his office as a schoolmaster "was," as Dr. Kippis remarks, "owing to the excentricity of his disposition; and, indeed, to his imagination being in some respects disturbed."— "With the Corporation" of that town "he had got involved in altercations, and he adopted a singular method of displaying his resentment or rather his contempt; for in teaching the boys at school, he made them translate the Greek word for Ass into Alderman, which some of the lads did seriously, though otherwise well instructed,"*—"a practice, which habit rendered so inveterate, that some of his pupils inadvertently used the same expression with very ludicrous effect in their public college exercises."†

I have not yet been able to discover the immediate cause of his quarrels with the Corporation. Probably, as Dr. Kippis observes, it was connected with his occasionally unfortunate state of mind and consequent desertion of his school. With the helm of his own understanding shattered and weak, when he once got into disputes with his patrons, and supposed that he saw others, from whom he might have expected gratitude and kindness, treating him with coldness and neglect, it is not to be wondered, that he should be blown into an ocean of difficulties by the storm of his own poignant wit and irascible temper.

Of the ill treatment, which he imagined he experienced from some of his townsmen, he has left us an account in a pamphlet, which he published under the title of Extracts from a MS. Pamphlet intitled the Tittle Tattle Mongers, No. I.§ This curious performance, with "the titles of the Extracts" had been weekly announced in the Newcastle Courant from April 5 to May 31 in 1746. I have been favoured with a sight of it from the valuable collection of local books and manuscripts of an intelligent member of this society; and after reading it over more than once, I have had no eyes or judgment to find any symptoms of its being the produce of a disordered intellect. It certainly was not prudent to publish it at all: but one of his mottos,

"Multa diuque tuli; tandem patientia victa est," shows that he had suffered indignities till his patience was conquered;

^{*} Kippis. † Surtees' Hist. Dur. ii. 84.

[§] It is in 12mo. "printed at Newcastle upon Tyne in the year MDCCXLVII. by John White." pp. 40. A copy of it, No. 1211, sold for 41. 5s. at Mr. Brockett's sale. Under "the titles of the Extracts on page 2" it contains the following "N.B. There will soon be sent to press No. II. consisting of, 1. The principal contents of some letters from Philarchus to Polemarchon, &c., with a commentary. 2. Professor Fungus's lecture on PRUDENCE alias Scoundrelism; with notes.—And soon after that, No. III., consisting of characters of some of the gentlemen of the corporation of Logopoiion, alias the Vengeful Brotherhood, or Fungus Clan." Besides which, an advertisement in the Newcastle Courant, in April and May 1747, announces in addition to the three "Extracts" published

and, after that was done, I apprehend few in a similar situation could have found a more effectual engine for assailing their enemies, and scattering among them the bitter arrows of irony and scorn than Mr. Dawes invented in the Tittle Tattle Mongers. That parts of it are of a most uncourtly nature is no argument against its fitness for the purpose for which it was intended. A good general adapts his mode of attack to the nature of the fortress he has to reduce, and our author, finding no other mode of silencing the disturbers of his peace, made a laughing stock of their pretensions to judge on learned matters; and threw contempt and humiliation with unspairing hand on all their pursuits and acquirements. His second motto is

"Turno tempus erit: magno cum optaverit emptum Intactum Pallanta."

That this attack had the effect of creating fear and shame is plain from the impression of the pamphlet, which contained it, having been as far as possible bought up and destroyed. Very few copies of it got into circulation. Indeed the learning and criticisms, with which its raillery and satire are blended, made it unintelligible to general readers, and consequently limited its circulation to a few.

The first extract is on "the Origin of the Names Neusowanasa and

in No. I. "IV, the character of Porcus. Porcus with a pen in his hand, recommended as a proverbial expression to answer the latin Assinus ad Lyram. V. the character of Strepsodicus." And the same Newspaper from October 10 to November 14, 1747, has the following advertisement:—

"SPEEDILY WILL BE PUBLISHED,
"I. Philonoi Antipolypragmonis Epistola ad juvenum κλαζονοχκυνοφλακρον Antonium Askew, M. B. Coll.
Emman. apud Cantabrigienses, non ita pridem Pseudo-Socio-Commensalem, Æschyli editiones promissorem.
In qua ὁ δινκ obiter festivum caput, ex suis virtutibus ornatur.

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor histu?
Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus,
Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus,
Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus,

'11 Ziv! σση μιν την αλαζονειαν πομιζει, όσην δε την αμαθιαν! Luc,
'Te miror, Antoni.' Cic.

"II. Consilii a Pantolno Thrasonida, Academise Panalazonice alumno, undecimum estatis annum agente, de Lycophrone edendo suscepti declaratio.

ό ε θε τες γηγιτις Απιστορη."

These advertisements, in an abridged form, and some extracts from the "Tittle Tattle Mongers" are given with notes in Kidd's last edition of the "Miscellanea Critica."

Logopoiion with a general character of the Logopoiions." The former of which names means, Queen of Islands, and the latter the town of Tittle Tattle. Both of them, he says, were imposed by Homer, who made an expedition to this island and visited most of its principal towns. He then proceeds to state the process of reasoning by which some of the genii of Logopoiion came to discover the derivation of these names. the result of which was, that a Logopoiion, a Log o' wood, a sow, and an ass were tantamount contemptuous expressions, imposed upon their town and country by one Philhomerus purely in contempt and abuse of After this he introduces certain gentlemen and ladies of Logopoiion under feigned names. Who the ladies were who had a heart to break a bruised reed and could render themselves worthy of being noted and remarked upon by Dawes's critical pen, he has left us no light to assist in discovering; and we will not take up a taper to go on so ungallant and invidious an errand as to search for their real names. Dr. Adam Askew, whom he designates by the names of Polypragmon and Fungus, was, as a physician in Newcastle and to great distances around it, as Mr. Nichol has remarked, the Radcliffe of his day. He realized a great fortune. Few are now alive who remembered him; but many amusing anecdotes are still told of him about Newcastle, which represent him as a character full of life, pleasantry, and bustle; very prompt and decisive in all his proceedings; but no way remarkable, when he chose, for urbanity of manners or choice of words. Dawes in this Extract speaking of himself says, his nose was somewhat apish; and that this Socratic turn of a principal feature in his face had often been an object of Fungus's wit in conversation. Once, in particular, after racking his noddle for a month how to draw the critic's picture at full length, and after calling in the assistance of some learned friend, or perhaps an index to Martial, he produced upon a scrap of paper, a piece of daubing, subscribed with

"Non cuicunque datum est habere nasum," and sent it to Dawes, who, after showing that habere nasum has there no relation to the features, but means "sense, sagacity, and ingenuity," says—"what is still more unlucky for the pleasant animal, the line is YOL. II.

an epigram upon a stupid buffoon that fancied himself witty and probably used to exercise his precious talents upon blemishes in people's features, since this is the most abject kind of scurrility, and such as even an idiot is equal to." This Extract also contains a dash at Dr. Askew's "musical son." and concludes with a qualifying paragraph in which he observes "that he is far from intending to suggest that Logopoiion is entirely destitute of men of real liberality, knowledge, wit, or sense." "Nay even this general description is meant to be so far limited, as not to include any person whatsoever, by whom I have not been industriously, and without provocation, insulted, molested, or depreciated."

The scope of the second and third Extracts is aimed at Dr. Akenside who had been a pupil under Dawes, and with all his qualifications of genius as a poet; of religion and virtue as a man; and of vivacity and eloquent conversation as a companion; was nevertheless, haughty and disputatious; and even in the generous days of early youth, before he was twenty-four years old, had, in the opinion of his preceptor, the malice and unmanliness to introduce him into the Pleasures of Imagination, in the character of a surly cynic of the name of Momion. The lines in which this act of impiety is done, are as follow:—

"Thee too, facetious Momion, wandering here, Thee, dreaded censor, oft have I beheld, Bewildered unawares: alas! too long Flushed with thy comic triumphs and the spoils Of sly derision! till, on every side, Hurling thy random bolts, offended truth Assigned thee here thy station with the slaves

* This was Dr. Anthony Askew, the same gentlemen who is ridiculed respecting his promised edition of Æschylus, in the proposals printed in the note p. 154. He was born in Kendal in 1722, before his father settled in Newcastle, and educated at Sedburgh and Emmanuel college. He probably got a considerable share of his education under Dawes. In 1745 he took the degree of B. D.: his proposal for publishing a new edition of Æschylus was printed in 1746, contained a specimen of the intended work, was dedicated to Dr. Mead, is in quarto, but now very scarce. In the same year he studied at Leyden, then went with the Embassy to Constantinople, whence he returned by Italy to Paris in 1749. In 1750 he became M. D. He had the best private collection of Greek and Latin books and manuscripts that was ever sold in England. It was unique in its day. Dr. Parr has praised him as a scholar in the Bibliomana.

Of folly. Thy once formidable name
Shall grace her humble records and be heard
In scoffs and mockery, bandied from the lips
Of all the vengeful brotherhood around,
So oft the patient victims of thy scorn."

On this passage the author of the Extracts has the following remarks: "A certain illustrious collection of genii have thought proper to apply this character personally. The part of the brotherhood they take to themselves, and are so kind as to confer that of Momion upon Philhome-The poet, indeed, has absolutely denied that the character was intended personally, and has professed himself astonished at the applica-But his pleading non-intention with respect to another gentleman, after having declared himself astonished at what was his doctrine, makes me entertain but a moderate opinion of his veracity. And, in this opinion, I am confirmed by the conduct of his friends, the genii, who, notwithstanding his remonstrance, persist in the application. Nay, I am apt to believe, that they, being acquainted with his blushing diffidence, instigated, if not hired, him to undertake so notable a prank." He then goes on to show, with great clearness and force of reasoning, that "the height of bravery to which Virgil raised the character of Turnus, was principally calculated with this view, that his hero, Æneas, might, upon his victory of Turnus, appear to a proportionably greater advantage. The same conduct had been before observed by Homer, in the case of Hector and Achilles;" and then he enters on new ground of criticism, and "takes occasion to point out another instance of the Latin poet's artifice of making Æneas call Diomedes the bravest of the Græcians," which he thinks was done for the purpose of raising in the reader's mind such an exalted notion of Diomedes' bravery, that the character which he had to give of Æneas, in another part of the poem, "might redound to his honour in the highest possible degree." "Had the same character of Æneas proceeded from an insignificant worthless creature, nothing could have rendered the hero more ridiculous." Just so, he remarks, "the only way whereby such animals," as those against whom he was writing, "can contribute to the real praise of any person is to depreciate

him. Hence, by the way, let me recommend to the reflection of the genii, what abundant praises they have unwittingly conferred upon Philhomerus (Dawes himself); what additional lustre they have given to a fair character by endeavouring to blacken it." "I am so well acquainted with the state of the case betwixt Philhomerus and them, as to be able to affirm that he never was flushed with any triumphs over them. He may, perhaps, have chastised their stupid insolence, but he no more triumphed upon this, than upon having corrected an impudent boy."

Dr. Akenside, in the "Pleasures of Imagination," had the misfortune to mention "the blushing diffidence of youth," with reference to himself: and Dawes, thinking him not over highly gifted with that amiable recommendation in a young man, honours the passage with an ironical "illustration from a line of some ancient traggedian preserved by Lucian," and with frequent quotation, as,—"return we now to the poet of blushing diffidence." But, however just his opinion of the Doctor's diffidence might be, his estimate of his poem, when he called it, "such a cob-web as the Pleasures of Imagination" was certainly illiberal and ill-founded. It was written at a time of life when its author was capable of comprehending and sketching out vast ideas, but wanting in judgment how to arrange and finish all the details of his pictures. In maturer years he expunged the offensive passage respecting Momion from his poem, as well as some others which Dawes had commented upon in his Extracts.

It is still, however, to be borne in mind that the circumstance of this pamphlet having never been answered affords no ground of reason to believe that its author's conduct in his School was correct, or that the prejudice of the people of Logopoiion was unjustly excited against him. That he was very highly talented as a grammarian every one must allow. But to preside with success over a great public school, requires the rare union of many qualifications—great industry and steadiness in conduct and opinion, patience and evenness of temper, firmness, dignity of deportment, discrimination of character, a highly stored and comprehensive mind, an accurate and retentive memory, fluency in lecturing, great delight in communicating knowledge, great art in rousing the curiosity and exciting the most highly gifted faculties of his pupils,

as well as great ambition in seeing them rise into offices of usefulness and honour. That Mr. Dawes was deficient in some of these excellencies, and consequently failed in attaining eminence and distinction in the way of life in which he set out, was no just cause of humiliation to himself, or of triumph to others. What is there less uncommon than for persons to form a mistaken estimate of their own powers? His faults seem to have been, a blindness to his own infirmities, blaming every body but himself for want of success, and pertinaciously adhering to office when he found himself unpopular. His situation at Newcastle, I apprehend, was this:—he was found, from causes he could neither see nor controul, to be unsteady in his attention to his school, resentful of all interference with his management, and cuttingly satirical: but he was also firmly seated in his office, and a giant and a king where he was. He knew that no man in the neighbourhood dared to measure a lance with him in learning; and he, therefore, among his scholars, threw out his wit unsparingly on all he suspected of opposing him. Some mode, however, was to be taken of removing him; and a natural, but cruel one was applied. The marble which stands for ages unchanged among atmospheric tempests, effervesces and bursts by the application of a simple acid: and here, the body, which the powerful levers of law and " reason could not stir, moved like a feather before the breath of ridicule. From the playful style of the *Extracts* it does not, however, appear that the lash of derision afflicted his mind with any intense suffering.— They were written in the heat of his quarrel with the Corporation: but so far from indulging in complaints of ill usage, their tone is that of scoffing and contempt. The war that was waged against him seems to have stirred his irascible and indignant, more than painful and humiliating feelings.

On the 22d of September, 1746, he made a proposal to resign the office of master of the school, upon which the Corporation offered him an annuity of £80. for his life, on condition of his resigning both that situation and the mastership of St. Mary's Hospital, which offer he seems to have declined; for on the 10th of January, 1748, he made new proposals to the Common Council of terms of resignation, but of what nature does

not appear. The negociation, however, was closed on the 26th of January, 1749, by the Corporation granting him an annuity of £80. for his life, and allowing him to receive a stipulated fine on all renewals of poperty belonging to the Hospital, in which one life had fallen in. On the 25th of September following, his annuity was secured to him by a bond, under the common seal, and he resigned both offices accordingly. The papers containing his correspondence with his patrons, are among the archives of the Corporation.

After resigning the school he retired to a house on the banks of the Tyne, at Heworth Shore, where, at that time, only three or four families resided. This house stood in a pleasant garden on the east side of the rivulet, which divides the Felling and Heworth lands, and close adjoining the west side of the garden of the house of the late Mr. Richard Kell. At present the garden is quite destroyed, and its western verge can only be traced by a row of elm trees. In his time, the banks of the Tyne, in that neighbourhood, were, on both sides, covered with oak wood, and the situation selected by Dawes for his retreat was retired His chief amusement was rowing a boat on the Tyne; and, when he was well, he walked much in the lanes near his house. His companions were few and selected; but here, as in Cambridge, not always chosen on account of their high rank, but with minds congenial to his own. He brewed good ale, and a humourous and eccentric blacksmith at the adjoining hamlet of Bill Quay frequently partook of it. person, who remembered him well, told me, that for one year he went and resided at the neat but retired village of Monckton, the reputed birth place of the venerable Bede; but soon returned to his former habitation at Heworth Shore. The same person also said, that her father, who was a weaver at Heworth, and of the name of Bowes, used to shave him three times a week, and that he always knew on entering his room, whether he was disturbed in his mind or not; for when he spoke he was right, but, if he was silent, he was in a low state; and, in these melancholy moments, he would take the razor very gently out of Bowes's hand and draw it as gently across his sleeve, without doing him any harm; but, to use the words of the same narrator, "while he was doing so, a

cold fear used to come over my father, lest, when he was in that low state of mind, he might not be always safe with a razor in his hand. My father attended him during all the time he lived both at Heworth Shore and at Monckton; and, when he found him well, would not uncommonly stay a whole day with him."

He was of a strong frame of body, tall, and corpulent; and his hair, which was thick and flowing, was snowy white; on account of which the children of the neighbourhood (rude savages!) used to run after him, calling out, "White head! White head!" which often made him angry, and lift his stick at them. According to his own account, as has been noticed, he had "some degree of the Socratic Simotees," or flatness of nose which is "mentioned by Zenophon and Plato," and which had "been at least fifty times an object of" his medical friend, "Mr. Fungus's wit in conversation." I have often heard a gentleman say, that he has seen the children about Heworth Shore, as they passed Mr. Dawes, crossing their noses with their finger and thumb, a dirty trick, which he abhorred, but which they had no doubt been taught by their Newcastle neighbours, for the sole purpose of tormenting him. His wrath, however, never fell with a heavy hand upon the varlets who teased him; for after he had shaken his stick at them, if he had any copper in his pocket, he delighted in throwing it among them, and enjoying the scramble it occasioned. Mr. Brewster, in his memoir of the Rev. Hugh Moises, M. A., the able and successful follower of Mr. Dawes, in the Grammar School of Newcastle, has the following anecdote concerning our author, during his residence at Heworth Shore. Mr. Brewster "remembered to have heard a friend of his say, that he had visited Mr. Dawes after his removal to Heworth, and that, though he could not, perhaps, be pronounced absolutely insane, his eccentricity was of that lively kind, both in words and actions, as to leave the impression that great wits and madness are proverbial: but, though in spite of the proverb, there does not exist any real connection between them, an elevation of mind, of whatever nature, will always produce an elevation of expression, which was remarkably the case at my friend's interview with Mr. Dawes."

Some suspicions have been thrown upon his belief of the truth of

Christianity.* Dr. Kippis says, that he occasionally, at the University, took such liberties, on certain topics, as gave great offence to those about him; but does not mention what these topics were. In his Extracts, Mr. Dawes makes a dash at the clergy, through the sides of Dr. Akenside, where he concludes his illustration of that "poet's' blushing diffidence," with observing—that "there is no room for being surprised at its having been experienced by private persons—by the clergy, as some think, in general, and by part of the nobility—since it has not scrupled to make free with Omnipotence itself. Witness, that modest simile in the Epistle to Curio, v. 33, which must shock any reader that is not habituated to profaneness and blasphemy—

- "Calm as the Judge of Truth, at length I come,
 "To weigh thy merits, and pronounce thy doom."
- "Cœlum ipsum petimus stultitia." These lines are omitted in the edition of Akenside's Poems, in 1772. But an inference, which I think way be drawn from the observations which precede them is this, that Dawes considered that Akenside was here guilty of making free with Omnipotence, just as the clergy are habitually guilty of profaneness and blasphemy in many of the doctrines which they uphold. This, however, may be considered as a forced construction; and it is best no doubt on this subject to say with Mr. Kidd, "judex esto Deus, sapientissimus et maxime benignus pectoris humani scrutator."

Another inference may, I think, be drawn from the *Extracts*.—That, while they are the sparkling and effervescence of a scholar that treated insult with derision and scorn, their lofty and disdainful tone was breathed from a mind which, though it was rough, was proud and virtuous; which set all imputations of moral blame at defiance; and honestly and obstinately adhered to the conduct and opinions it considered right.

Had he carefully weighed all his powers with reference to his own happiness and usefulness in the world, he ought never to have quitted his college, but to have endeavoured to increase his reputation and his means of supporting himself by his critical labours. Employed in this

[•] Kidd's Misc. Crit. Pref. p. vi.

manner, he would have been less liable to be harassed with the crosses and indignities of vulgar opinion, than he was as a schoolmaster; and his labours would have been both useful and lasting.

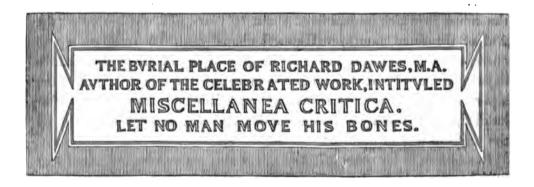
Of his books and inedited manuscripts, I hoped long ago to have got some certain information; but my enquiries have hitherto been unsuccessful. Dr. Burgess says, that some of his manuscript books were in the collection of Dr. Anthony Askew, who purchased them and the rest of his books. No notice, however, is taken of any work that had belonged to him in the sale catalogue of Dr. Askew's printed books; and I have been unable to obtain a sight of the catalogue of his Collection of MSS. The impression on my mind respecting them is, that they were disposed of in the manner I have mentioned in the beginning of this memoir. If Dr. Askew got the manuscript of the "Emendationes in Poetas Græcos," mentioned in the letter to Dr. Taylor, it is to be hoped that he suffered them to share a better fate than to put them into the evil hands of Reiske, as he did those of his friend Dr. Taylor.

Mr. Dawes died at Heworth Shore, on the 21st of March, 1766, in the house in which he had lived about 16 years, and was buried on the 23d of the same month, in Heworth chapel-yard. A tradition is still current in the neighbourhood that he grew weary of life, and ended his days by an act of suicide; but, on enquiry into the report, I found from a person who was present at the washing of his body immediately after he died, that it was a groundless slander, and that he went out of life by the uniform way of nature.*

In addition to his other afflictions, it is also somewhere intimated that he was subject in his latter days to the hardship of poverty, which, of all the evils that can befal a high and feeling mind, is the heaviest and most insupportable; but his protracted negociation with the Common Council of Newcastle, for terms to retire from his school upon, show that he set a proper value on independence and the means of self-preservation; and his annuity of £80. a year, with the portion of fines for which he stipulated, were certainly riches to one who had no family to share his income with, who "shunned the noise of folly," and the expensive pursuits of ambition and fashionable life.

^{*} See Surtees's Hist. Dur. vol. ii, p. 84.

His grave in Heworth chapel-yard is still marked with a head-stone of rude workmanship; but said to be the gratuitous offering of a country mason to the memory of a great scholar. The stone bears the following inscription:—"In memory of Richard Dawes, latehead master of the grammer school of Newcastle, who died the 21st of March, 1766, aged 57." Besides noticing the sin of bad spelling, Brand is severe on the "vile sculpture," and wretched taste in grouping of a trumpet, sword, and scythe, which are carved above this inscription: but, thanks to the intentions and peace to the gentle soul, who marked the spot that has the custody of Dawes's ashes. Before Heworth chapel was rebuilt, the incumbent there had the grave carefully marked with a stake, and the stone removed out of the way of injury; and, as soon as the building was completed, the frail "memorial" was moved back to its proper place, a large rolled block of bazalt laid lengthways on the grave, and the following inscription, on a plate of bronze sunk into it:—



The incumbent of Heworth also suggested to the Rev. James Tate, of Richmond, in Yorkshire, the propriety of putting up a plain marble monument to the memory of Dawes in the adjoining new chapel, promising on his part to furnish the design for it, and to take the trouble of getting it put up, if Mr. Tate would procure the means of defraying the expence of executing the plan, and write the inscription for the monument. The subscriptions amounted to £29.8s., and the expence of putting up

the marble and basalt monuments, and of the wood cuts for this memoir, to £34. 2s., the particulars of which sums are as follow:—

The Bishop of Salisbury,	The Marble Monument,
£34 2	£34 2

The marble monument, of which the wood cut on the next page is a correct representation, was executed by the late Mr. Isaac Jobling, sculptor in Gateshead, and bears the following inscription:—

IN . CŒMETERIO . HVIVS . ECCLESIÆ . SEPVLTVS . IACET .

RICARDVS . DAWES . A. M.

COLL . EMMAN . APVD . CANTABRIGIENSES . OLIM . SOCIVS .
LVDOQVE . LITERARIO . ET . GERONTOCOMIO . APVD . NOVOCASTRENSES .

ANNOS . X . PRÆFECTVS.

ACERRIMO . VIR . INGENIO .

ET . SERMONIS . ATTICI . IVDEX . PERITISSIMVS .

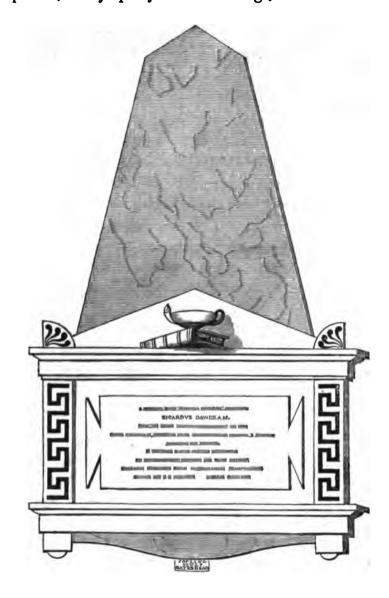
CVI . MISCELLANEA . CRITICA . VNO . LIBRO . EDITA .

ÆTERNVM . HONOREM . APVD . GRAMMATICOS . PEPERERVNT .

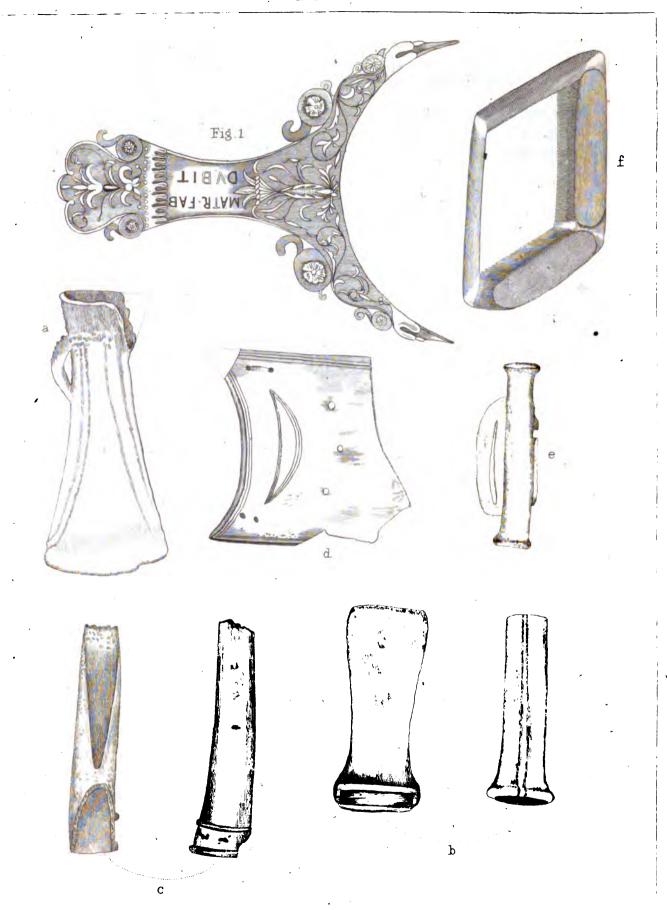
NATVS . EST . A. C. MDCCVIII. DECESSIT . MDCCLXVI.

Besides which, the incumbent of Heworth promised to draw up and print a memoir of all he could collect respecting Dawes and his writings; which, by way of redemption of his word, he has here endeavoured to do, at the first leisure moment he could spare for the purpose since the monument was completed in 1825; and he begs that others may consider this performance in the same light he is constrained to judge of it himself—as a very humble tribute to the memory of Dawes; a series of superficial gleanings from Kippis, and the *Prefaces* to Burgess's and Kidd's editions of the *Miscellanea*, interspersed here and there with a new fact, or with the inferences and reflections of one, whose pretensions to sit in judgment on his "golden book," the "decus immortale" of

English learning, Dawes would have treated with merriment, if not with indignation; but whose respect for his memory, admiration of his great critical powers, and sympathy for his sufferings, are cordial and intense.



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XVI.—An Account of some Roman Antiquities which were sold in Newcastle, in 1812, communicated by Mr. John Bell. See Plate IV. fig. 1.

In February, 1812, several Roman Antiquities were sold by a person (to all appearance a farmer) to Mr. Thomas Watson, Silversmith, Newcastle, and afterwards passed into the possession of John Brumell, Esq., in whose collection they remain. They consist of an oblong silver salver, about 18 inches in length, carved round the edge, and which, when discovered, was quite entire; a silver cup, about 5 inches in diameter, with only a small damage on one side; another, about the same size, but which was so much corroded as to fall to pieces; a flat handle, of which I send a drawing and which appears to have belonged. to one of the cups, is most beautifully carved with leaves and flowers, MATRIFAB which had been inlaid with and has an inscription letters of gold, all, however, excepting the letters T V B being lost out; two pieces of silver, carved and gilt, which seemed to have been pieces of a bridle bit; several gold and silver rings, mostly in the shape of serpents, some of them set with stones, and one having an inscription.

XVII.—An Account of a curious Sculpture at Bridlington Church, Yorkshire, in a Letter from W. C. Trevelyan, Esq., of Wallington, to John Adamson, Esq., Secretary. See Plate V.

Wallington, January 20, 1825.

In the autumn of 1823, I visited the interesting Church at Bridlington (founded about 1114, by Gilbert de Gant). On examining a tomb stone with an inscription and date of 1587, standing on two low pillars of masonry near the font, I found some appearances of sculpture on the under side of it, and having obtained leave to turn it over, the curious sculpture represented in the etching herewith sent, was discovered.

Its meaning, or date, I cannot attempt to explain. Can it have any reference to the building of the church? You will perceive both the circular and pointed arch (though the latter is probably only accidental, the space being limited).

The roof, I think, resembles some of the Roman buildings of the lower empire of which I have seen engravings.

The tiles, in shape, correspond exactly with those which were found among the remains of a Roman villa discovered a few years since at Stonesfield, near Oxford. The upper figures are very like some on Bridekirk Font (of the 10th century).—Archæologia, vol. xiv, plate 30.

The figures of the Fox and Dove remind one of Æsop's fable of the Fox and the Stork.

The use of the plate I beg to offer to the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle, should it be thought worth publishing in the next volume of their Transactions.



And and Sculpture in Bridlington Church Terkshire discovered Collins Length $f \in \mathbb{R}^n$. Breadth at top $f \in \mathbb{R}^n$, at base f.

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XVIII.—An Account of the Tomb of Philippa, Queen of Eric Pomeranus, King of Denmark, and daughter of Henry IV. of England, in a Letter from W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., of Wallington, to John Adamson, Esq. Sec. (For the Plate the Society are indebted to Miss Emma Trevelyan.)

DEAR SIR,

I send you a drawing of the Tomb of Philippa, Queen of Eric Pomeranus*, King of Denmark, and daughter of Henry IV. of England, who died in 1430.

Queen Philippa was much esteemed for her good qualities, but is particularly celebrated for her courageous and successful defence of Copenhagen, when attacked by the Hanseatic States in 1428, with a force of 12,000 men. A few months before her death she retired to Wadstena Monastery in Sweden, where her monument now exists. Her loss was much lamented by her subjects, as she had shown herself to be a good, a valiant, and a wise queen; possessing those qualities which they could the better appreciate in her, in consequence of the absence of them in her husband.

Among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum (Caligula B. iii) is preserved "Litera procuratoria facta de maritagio Erici Regis Daciæ cum Philippa filia Henrici quarti," 1402. At the same time there appears to have been a treaty going forward for the marriage of Henry Prince of Wales (Henry V.), with a daughter of Eric, as in the same volume is, "Litera procuratoria de maritagio Henrici Principis Walliæ et Catarinæ Sororis Erici Regis Daciæ, 1402."

Holinshed says, of the marriage of Philippa,-" In the summer of this

^{*} Eric IX. son of Wratislaws, Duke of Pomerania, by Mary of Mecklenburg, niece to Margaret, the Semiramis of the North;—(See Monstrelet, 8th edit. vol. ii, p. 78), whom he succeeded in 1412.

year (1406), the ladie Philip, the King's younger daughter, was sent over to her affianced husband, Erike, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, being conveyed thither with great pomp, and there married to the said King, where she tasted (according to the common speech used in praying for the success of such as match together, in marriage,) both joy and some sorrow among. There attended her thither, Henry Bowet, Bishop of Bath, and the Lord Richard, brother to the Duke of York.

In a note in p. 67, vol. i, of *Ellis' Original Letters*, is mentioned the equipment of the ship which carried Philippa to her home, where a reference is made to *Rym. Fad.* t. viii. p. 447.

For this drawing, copied from an original by Abildgaard, in the collection of the Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Thomsen, Secretary to that Society.

The original is, I believe, merely figured in *outline*, on the stone or on brass, I know not which.

I remain, DEAR SIR,

Very sincerely, your's,

W. C. TREVELYAN.

XIX.—Some Account of the Rectory of Bromfield, in the County of Cumberland, by W. C. Trevelyan, Esq., of Wallington; addressed to John Adamson, Esq., Secretary.

DEAR SIR,

Accompanying this is a cast of a seal which is appended to a confirmation by Adam (de Warthwic), Prior of St. Mary's, Carlisle, of the grant made by John (Halton) Bishop of Carlisle, of the Rectory of Bromfield, in Cumberland, to the Abbey of St. Mary's York, in 1803.





On one side appears the seal of the Monastery, and, on the back of it, probably the private seal of the Prior, which is evidently a well sculptured antique, with a more modern inscription round it Sigillum Fris-J'Gton'—Sigillum Fratris Johannis Gton'? with two coats of arms.

Hutchinson in his *History of Cumberland*, when describing the parish yol. II. A a

of Bromfield, says, "there are no documents, it is apprehended, now to be met with, to shew, with any exactness, how this manor, and the great tithes of this rectory, were gradually parcelled out into various hands." In looking over the papers formerly belonging to the Calverley family, I have found some relating to the Rectory of Bromfield, of some of which, as they supply part of the information wanted by Hutchinson, I send you an abstract, which, if you think it worth the notice of the Anquarian Society, you can lay before them at their next meeting, with the cast of the seal.

I remain, DEAR SIR,

Very sincerely your's,

W. C. TREVELVAN.

Wällington, Jan. 20, 1826.

1525.—June 1st, 17th Henry VIII, the Rev. Father in God Edmund Abbot, of the Monastery of our Lady of York, and the Convent of the same place, let to James Martyndale, Anthony Eglesfeld, gentilmen, Edward Raper and John Thornbrand, of Bromefeld, yeomen, the manor, place, and demesnes of Bromefeld, and all tyth corn and hay, rents, houses, lands, &c. &c. and all other rights of the said, except and reserved to the said Monastery, all and singular perquisites of courts, sutes, homages, wards, &c. &c. and all other such like casualties, belonging to the Royalty seignory of the said, for 84 years, paying annually £34., and £200. at £50. a year.

1545.—Henry VIII. by his letters patent, granted to Henry Thompson, the Manor, Rectory, and Church of Bromefield, then leased for £34. per annum (as above), together with the scite and demeanes of the late Priorie of Esholte, in the County of Yorke, let at £14. 9s. 4d. per annum; together £48. 9s. 4d.: deduct, for tythe, £4. 16s. 11d,; leaves, £43. 12s. 4d.: by a valuation made at the time, rated at twenty years' purchase, £472.7s. 6d.; add for the woods, £19. 13s. 4d.: in all, £491. 10s. 10d.

This grant appears not to have been then completed, as Edward VI, in his letters patent, dated 25th August, 1st year of his reign, says, that

in consideration that Henry Thompson had delivered to his father (Hen. VIII.) the Maison Dieu at Dover, and had paid him (Hen. VIII.) £555: 6s. 8d., and for £236. 4s. 2d. to be paid by the said Henry Thompson, grants to him "totum illud Manerium nostrum de Bromfield et Rectoriam nostrum et Ecclesiam nostrum de Bromfield cum suis juribus, membris, et pertinentiis universis in Com n'ro Cumbr. nuper monasterie beste Marie juxta muros civitatis Ebor. modo dissolut:—dudum spectand. et ptinen. ac pcell. possessionum inde nuper existend.—ac Advocacionem, donacionem, liberam dispositionem et jus patronat. vicariæ Ecclesiæ parochialis de Bromfield."

10th Sep. 26th Eliz. 1584.—William Thompson, lets to Thomas Heaton, of Heaton, Lancaster, Yeoman, the Manor-house of Bromfield, called the Vicaridge, with lands, &c. for 21 years, at £6. 13s. 4d. yearly rent, and to pay the vicar forty marks yearly for his stipendiary wages.

12th Aug. 11th Jas. I, 1613.—During the minority of Christopher Thompson, his trustee (and grandfather)? Christopher Anderton, of Harwich, Lancaster, sells Sir Edward Musgrave, of Heiton, Cumberland, and William Musgrave, of Abbey Holme, for £120., tithes of corn, grain, and bay, upon all the improvements now, or hereafter to be improved, on all the commons in the parish of Bromfield, parcel of the rectory of Bromfield, to hold of the King, by the yearly payment of sixteen pence, at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel.

1638.—Henry Thompson conveyed to Cuthbert Orfeur, of Aikleby, a messuage and tenement with appurtenances in Whyrigg.

1654.—12th October, Henry Thompson levied a fine for settling on hisheirs all the Manor or Lordship of Bromfield, and 5 messuages or tenements there; and 60 acres of arable land, 40 acres of meadow held with the above, and that pasture ground called East-mire, Middle-mire, and West-mire, containing 200 acres, and the rectory and church of Bromfield, and the advowson and right of patronage of the vicaridge of the parish church of Bromfield, and 4 acres of arable land at Langridge, and tithes of corn and grain of Langrigge, and two messuages, 4 acres of arable land, and 2 acres of meadow in Allanby; and a messuage and 6 acres of arable in Urnegill; a messuage and 14 acres of arable land,

and tithes of hay, in Kelsicke; a messuage, 3 acres of arable land, and tithes of corn, grain, and hay, in Dundrawe and Murawe; tithes of corn and grain of Crookdake; and all and singular grainges, mills, messuages, &c. &c, as specified in Edward VI. patent, and given in *Hutchinson's History*, vol. i. p. 306. 10th March, 1667, Walter Calverley, and Frances his wife, only daughter and heir of Henry Thompson, late of Brumfield, Esq. deceased, levy a fine of the Manor and Rectory of Brumfield, and of all tithes of grain and hay, and obventions within the said rectory, glebe lands, and predial tythes, &c., 20 messuages, 200 acres of land, 80 acres of meadow, 80 acres of pasture, and 200 acres of waste.

1670.—24th May, Walter Calverley sells John Hayton, of Urnegill, in the Parish of Bromfield, yeoman, a messuage and grounds at Urnegill for £50, reserving to Walter Calverley an annual rent of 8s 6d.

1671.—27th Sept., Walter Calverley sells to Francis Orfeur of High Close, all his estate, right, title, &c. to several farms, and the tythes, in the township of Bromfield, for £650., and Francis Orfeur to pay annually to his Majesty the fee farm rent of 35s., and all other fee farm rents issuing out of the premises or out of the towns of Kelsick, Milrigg, Crookdake, Langrigg, Dunrowe, Brumfield, Scales, Wheyrigg, Allanby, and Newton, and payable yearly to his Majesty by reason of any grant of the Rectory of Bromfield, from King Edward VI. to the ancestors of Henry Thompson, Esq. late owner of the same

1679.—Walter Calverley sold Sir John Ballantyne, Kt. of Crookdake, all tithes of corn and grain in Crookdake for £400.

1680.—Walter Calverley sells Richard Thomlinson, of Akehead, Gent. the parsonage, rectory, and church of Bromfield, and the advowson gift, and presentation to the vicarage of Bromfield, messuages, tithes, &c. in the towne of Bromfield; 3 acres of arable land in Langrigge; barn, and 12 acres at Dundrawe; and a messuage in Kelsicke; excepting and always reserved out of the said bargain and sale, all the tythes, great and small, of Crokedake, and 2 seats on the north side of the chancel of Bromfield Church, now or late in the possession of Sir John Ballantine, of Crookdake, Knt., and all other tithes, of whatsoever kind, on any improvements in the Parish of Bromfield, and also a rent issuing out

of lands and tenements in Newton, and a rent out of lands, &c. in Allanby.

1680.—April 5, Walter Calverley sells Robert Jackson, of Carlisle, yeoman, one seat in the north side of the Chancel of Bromfield Church, for £5.

1689.—Walter Calverley sells to Richard Martindale, and Robert Sibson, of Allanby, land in the manor or township of Allanby, called Lang Smales, Borrans, and Walkers.

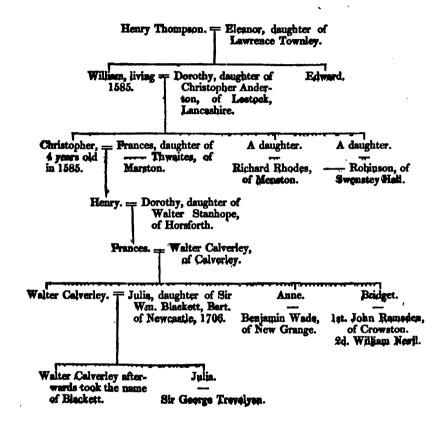
1695.—August 10th, Walter Calverley sells Cuthbert Osmotherly, of Langrigg Hall and others, for £830. tythe of corn and grain in Langrigge, a tythe barn and stable, and two acres of land.

1695.—October 15th, Walter Calverley sells to John Patteson, of Penrith, gent. for £880. all his freehold messuages, tenements, lands, &c. in Kelsick, Dundraw, and Moor-raw, in the parish of Bromfield, and all tythes of hay in Kelsick, tythes of corn, grain, and hay, and the tythe barn in Dundraw and Moor-raw.

The right of presentation to the vicaridge of Bromfield appears to have been contested both by Thompson and Calverley against the Bishop of Carlisle, but without success; though William Grainger, on the presentation of Henry Thompson, was admitted, instituted, and inducted to the living by Sir Thomas Bennett, by order of the Parliament, 25th Nov. 1648, Peter Beck having died 4th Feb. 1647. June 29th, 1654.—William Grainger compounded with the Lord Protector for the first fruits of the vicaridge. He was confirmed in his living by the act for confirmation and restoration of ministers, 12, C. 2.; and further for having subscribed the act for the uniformity of public prayers, August, 1662.

In 1506, it was found that "reparatio cancelli spectat ad vicariam ecclesiæ, pro qua reparatione de anno in annum vicarius recepit decimam de Blencowgoe virtute cujusdam compositiones factæ inter Abbatem et Conventum Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ prope muros Ebor. et predecessores vicarii jam incumbentes."

PEDIGREE.



XX.—Accounts of some ancient Wooden Coffins discovered not far from Haltwhistle, in the County of Northumberland (one of which was presented to the Society by the RIGHT HON. THOS. WALLACE'S STEWARD, to JOHN ADAMSON, Esq., Secretary.

Blenkinsopp, April 20th, 1825.

DEAR SIR.

In compliance with your request I shall make you acquainted with what I know respecting the Coffin which has been presented to the Antiquarian Society, by my neighbour, Mr. Wallace. It was discovered last year, along with several others of the same description, by some men who were cutting a drain about two hundred yards to the north-east of the farm house at Wyden Eals, which property belongs to Mr. Wallace, and is situate on the north bank of the river Tyne, two miles above the village of Haltwhistle: it is formed from the boll of an oak tree which has been split by the wedge and hollowed out in a very rough manner to admit the body, the lid secured at the head and feet by wooden pins: it was lying at the depth of six feet from the surface in wet clay, those in dryer ground were of course more decayed; few bones were found, and those, after being exposed to the air, shortly became dust. As neither history nor tradition make mention of any place of worship having ever been near this spot, it is, in all probability, a burial ground of remote antiquity. King Arthur is said to have been interred in a trunk of oak hollowed, which the Monk of Glastonbury calls Sarcophagus Ligneus, the most ancient record of wooden coffins among us.

I was fortunately on the spot when these relics were found, which probably has been the means of preserving them from destruction, as I

had four of the most perfect immediately removed to Featherstone Castle, the seat of Mr. Wallace.

I am, my DEAR SIR, Your's faithfully,
J. BLENKINSOPP COULSON.

Featherstone Castle, March 27, 1825.

SIR,

Mr. Wallace has desired me to write to you all particulars relating to the finding of the Coffins, which is as followeth:—The Right Hon. Thos. Wallace had employed some labourers to drain some swampy ground in an estate of his called Wyden Eals, within two miles of Haltwhistle, in the county of Northumberland, near the side of the river Tyne. In cutting the main drain they met with what appeared an oak tree, and, as it impeded their progress, they got an axe to cut it out, and, to their surprise, it proved to be a coffin, after that they took out the remains of four more, in one of which there was part of a skull. The coffin I have sent was the most perfect. The workmen passed several coffins lying north and south, very near each other, and about five feet below the surface of the ground. I think it does not admit of a doubt that it has been a place of interment, but at what period is uncertain. There is no building or remains of buildings near the place, except the remains of what appears to have been a cottage, and a modern-built farm house.— The only buildings that appear to have been of any particular account are Featherstone Castle, the property of the Right Hon. Thos. Wallace, the remains of Blenkinsopp Castle, the property of Col. Coulson, and of Bellister Castle, the property of Mr. Kirsop. The castles are nearly at an equal distance from the place where the coffins were found. Can this have been a burying place for the families of these three castles?

The above is the best account I am able to give; if any further information is wanted, I shall be very ready to give it to the best of my knowledge,

I am, very respectfully, SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

W. HUTTON.

XIX.—The Origin and Formation of the Gothic Tongues, but particularly the Anglo-Saxon. By the Rev J. Bosworth, M. A. F. A. S., Member of the Royal Society of Literature, Honorary Member of the Copenhagen Society for Ancient Northern Literature, &c.; and Vicar of Little Horwood, Bucks.

I SHALL not stop to prove that the European Languages of the Scythian, Teutonic, or Gothic stock, are related to those of India and Persia, but take it for granted you will allow, that the stream of population, which, about the seventh century before the Christian æra, came out of Asia into Europe, over the Kimmerian Bosphorus, brought with it the primitive tongue, from which the more recent northern languages have been derived.* Though I have given a table of these languages in "the Elements of the Anglo-Saxon," I shall here lay before you the table of my friend, Professor Rask, of Copenhagen, as in some points, it is more systematic than mine.

GOTHIC.

SCANDINAVIAN BRANCH. Ancient Scandinavian, or Islandic, which was spoken in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Greenland, Ferro Isles, Shetland, and Orkney Isles, and, for a time, at the Court of Russia. Modern Islandic, scarcely distinguishable from the Ancient Swedish and Danish. Modern Swedish. Modern Danish.	GERMANIC, OR TEUTONIC BRANCH, Very extensive in two subdivisions, being all six distinct languages of ancient Germany.	
	1. Upper Dialect.	2. Lower Dialect.
	Mœso-Gothic, Alemanic, and Francic. High Dutch, or German, & some other dialects.	Frisic, Old Saxon, Anglo-Saxon Low German. English. Dutch. Low Scotch.

The Anglo-Saxon, though not a primitive language, must be interesting to every intelligent Englishman, as it is the parent of his own tongue.

^{*} See Undergellse om det gamle Nordishe eller Islandshe Sprogs Oprindelse af R. R. Rask. Copenhagen, 1818, 8vo.; Herod. Melp. sec. 5, 6, 7, 11.; Turner's Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, 3rd edit. 8vo. vol. i. p. 95.

It boasts of no meretricious ornaments, but for strength and the philosophical manner of its structure, it is inferior to few, and, therefore, deserves the careful attention of every philologer. Some knowledge of the general formation of languages, as well as of those which flow from the Gothic, may be acquired from an intimate acquaintance with the structure of the Anglo-Saxon.

In investigating the origin of language, we must observe, that a knowledge of things is conveyed to the mind, through the medium of the five senses, but chiefly by the sight. An idea, or image of a visible object is formed in the mind, by means of the eye, and the word which, when written or spoken, conveys this image of the thing to the mind, is called a *Noun*. The general outline, or form of an object would be first impressed on the mind; nouns, therefore, appear to be the primitive words in language. Nouns which are pronounced by a single impulse of the voice, and, therefore, called monosyllables, were probably first formed; as,

Ac, ac, an oak; pep, wer, a man; Ooo, mod, the mind.

Compound nouns, in Saxon, often consist of two, or more, independent and significant words; as,

Ac, ac, an oak; copn, corn, a corn; accopn, accorn, a corn of the oak, an acorn.

pen, wer, a man; heopo, heord, an herd; penheopo, werheord, an herd's man.

Din, win, wine; theop, treow, tree; Dintheop, wintreow, a vine. Ea, ea, water; land, land; Ealand, ealand, an island.

From these few examples, it will be evident that those words, which are generally considered primitive, in the present English, are in reality

† Many eminent philologers have been of a different opinion. See Bishop of Salisbury's Essay on the Study of Antiquities, 2nd edit. p. 89.; Anselm Bayley's Introduction to Languages, p. 73, &c. They say 17, deg, is a fish, from 17, deg, to multiply, or increase; but would not the image, or general figure of the fish be formed on the retina, and from thence be conveyed to the mind, and a monosyllablic sound representing that image, be uttered before the property of its great increase could be observed? I should then rather say, that 17, deg, to act as a fish, to increase, or multiply, was formed from 17, deg, a fish; for the fish must often have been seen, and pointed out by a name, before its property of great increase had been noticed.

expressive Saxon compounds; as, Accopn, accorn, a corn of the oak; and Calano, caland, a water-land, or an island. But the use of Saxon in ascertaining the true meaning of English words, will be best seen in explaining a few of those terminations which appear to many to be inexplicable. The Saxon will unfold the mystery, and prove that many English terminations are either the whole or part of a significant Saxon word; boom, dom, signifies judgment, right; words ending in dom have this signification; as, cynebom, cynedom, a king's right, or kingdom; composed of cyne, cyne, a king, and bom, dom. Ric, ric, dominion, and birceop, bisceop, a bishop, make birceophic, bisceopric, a bishop's dominion, or bishopric. Pade, hade, office, state, and cilo, (pronounced chilo,) a child, make cilohade, cildhade, a child's state, or childhood. Scype, scyre, shire, share, and preopt, preost, a priest, make preoptrycyne, preostscyre, a priest's share or parish. Ep, er, pep, wer, a man, and peopm, feorm, a farm, make peopmep, feormer, a man who farms, a farmer.

Verbs appear to be derived from Nouns. Every Noun, or name of a thing, which has an existence, must have either an action, or a state of being, and the word which expresses that action, or state of being, is denominated a Verb. After the general outline of an object was formed in the mind, the attention would be fixed upon its action, or state of being; and, therefore, Verbs were formed subsequently to Nouns. Verbs are often Nouns applied in a verbal sense; as, in Hebrew,

רב, děb, a bear; בר, děb, he acts as a bear, he murmurs, or grumbles. עבב, kěběs, a lamb; עבב, kěběs, it acts as a lamb, it is subject, or humble. הלד, mělěk, a king המלד, mělěk, he acts as a king, he reigns, or rules. הוו, nēr, a river; און, nēr, it acts as a river, it flows.

Examples occur in Anglo-Saxon; as,

2

OBEZ, mæg, power; OBEZ, mæg, to act with power, to be able, may. ODOT, mot, an assembly; mot, mot, to act as people in an assembly, to assemble, to meet.

Teon, teon, an accusation; reon, teon, to act with accusation, to accuse. Examples also occur in English; as, a fear to fear; a sleep, to sleep; a dream, to dream.

That Verbs are derived from Nouns admits of ample illustration from

most languages, but the more ancient and simple the language is, the more satisfactory and convincing will the examples prove. In the Oriental languages many examples are found: it will be sufficient to quote a few from the Hebrew.

אר, ār, a river; ארר, ārĕr, it acts as a river, it flows, flows away, or destroys.

אא, āck, a brother; החוא, āckē, he acts as a brother, he joins, consociates.

קא, āp, heat, anger; אפלה, āpē, it acts as heat, it bakes.

שא, ās, fire, wrath; ששא, āsĕs, it acts as fire, it consumes, he is wrath, bĕn, a son; בנה, bĕnē, he acts as a son, he builds up, supports his father's house.

רל, děl, poor; דלח, dělē, he is in the state of the poor, he is exhausted, lean.

כרבד; גרב, kĕr, circuit; ברבד, kĕrkĕr, he goes quickly in circles, he dances round.

Instances of Verbs formed from Nouns, are also numerous in Greek; they are formed by ,, the last letter in ,, ĕgō, I; as,

Δουλος, doulos, a slave; Δουλουσ, douleuō, slave I, or I enslave.

Bus, bios, life, Cum, bioō, life I, I live.

'AGροτη, abrotē, night; 'ωδροτω, abroteō, night I, I benight, I err.

Enlos, salos, the sea; onlow, saleuo, sea I, I agitate.

+υχη, psuchē, a soul; ψυχον, psuchoō, soul I, I soul, or enliven.

'οιμα, oimē, a way; '•ιμαν, oimaō, way I, I make way, or advance.

Examples of Verbs formed from Nouns are numerous in the Gothic tongues, but particularly in Anglo-Saxon, as the greatest part of Saxon Verbs are formed from Nouns by the addition of the syllables an, ian, or zan, probably formed from—

Anan, anan, or an, an, to give, to add; aneno, anend, giving; anoo, anod, given, &c.

Γιαπζαπ, gangan, or ζαπ, gan, to go; ζαπζεπο, gangend, going; ζαπζετο, ganged, gone.

Azan, agan, to possess, to have; azeno, agend, having; azeo, aged, had.

The terminations derived from these Verbs are added to Nouns, and give a verbal signification; as,

Dæl, dæl, a part; oælan, dælan, to give a part, to divide.

Feonm, feorm, food; peonman, feorman to have food, to feed, or farm.

Feren, fefer, a fever; rerenzan, fefergan, to have a fever.

Dit, wit, wisdom; pitan, witan, to give knowledge, to know.

Mœso-Gothic Verbs are formed in the same manner; as,

MATS, mats, meat; MATGAN, matgan, to give meat, to eat.

NAMQ, name, a name; NAMOAN, namgan, to give a name, to name.

SAAT, salt, salt; SAATOAN, saltgan, to give salt, to season.

halkn, haurn, a horn; halkngan, to give the horn, to celebrate with horn trumpet, to praise.

Adjectives are formed from the two preceding classes of words; that is, from Nouns or Verbs. Some Nouns are used as adjectives without any alteration; as,

Deop, deop, the deep, the sea; beop, deop, deep.

Lab, lath, evil; lab, lath, pernicious.

Genuine Adjectives are formed by adding to Nouns and Verbs the terminating syllables an, an; en, en; eo, ed; eno, end; 17, ig; 17c, isc, &c. These are probably derived from an, an; 1can, ican; to give, to add, to join; as,

Ærc, æsc, an ask; en, en, add, give, join; ærcen, æscen, ask, add, or join, something; as, ærcen theop, æscen treow, an ash tree.

Lolo, gold, gold; en, en, add, give, join; zoloen, golden, golden.

Lyn, lyn, flax; en; en, add, &c.; linen, linen, flaxen.

Bloo, blod, blood; 13, ig, join, &c.; bloo13, blodig, bloody.

Pit, wit, wisdom; 13, ig, join, &c.; pitiz, witig, wise, witty.

Dpincan, drincan, to drink; eno, end, join, &c.; orinceno, drincend, drinking.

Here we see the true meaning of the English Adjectives ending in en and y; as, blood, blood-y; gold, gold-en; that is, add, or join something, to bloody, golden, such as hand; making bloody hand, &c.

Adjectives are formed from Nouns and Verbs by the addition of other syllables; as,

pep, wer, a man, lic, lic, like; peplic, werlic, manlike, manly.

Lure, lufe, love; lice, like; lurlice, luflice, lovelike, amiable.

pynne, wynne, pleasure; rum, sum, some part; pynrum winsum, some pleasure, joyful.

Pync, wyrc, work; rum, sum, some; pyncrum, wyrcsum, laborious. Tung, tung, tongue; rull, full, plenty; rungrul, tungful, loquacious. Dærem, wæstm, fruit; bæn, bær, producing; pærembæn, wæstmbær, fruitful.

Lupe, lufe, love; týme, tyme, teem; luptýme, luftyme, pleasant. Lion. God, God; cund, cund, born; zodcund, godcund, divine.

Ae, æ, læw; pært, fæst, fast, fixed; ærært, æfæst, fixed in the læw, pious.

Fæben, fæder, father, lear, leas, lost, less; ræbenlear, fæderleas, fatherless.

We cannot fail to observe, that what are now used as adjective terminations, are, in reality, significant words, or fragments of such words in Saxon.

The comparative terminations op, or; ap, ar; ep, er; and, by transposition, pe, re, are from ap, ar, or æp, ær, before, in regard to time, and then to quality and the superlative arc, ast or ærc, æst, first; as,

A, a, time, ap, ar, ep, er, before time, before; art, ast, ept, est, first time, foremost.

Pir, wis, wise; Piren, wiser, before in wisdom, wiser; Pirert, wisest, first in wisdom, wisest.

Those Adjectives which are now considered irregular, were once formed by the preceding rule; as,

Bet, bet, good; beten, beter, beter; bet-rt, bet-st, bet-st, best. poe, woe, bad; pope, wore, popp, wors, worse; poppt, worst, worst. Oa, ma, much; mæpe, mære, more; mæpt, mæst, most.

Pronouns are thought to be formed from the fragments of Verbs and Nouns. The Pronouns he, he; hit; he, the; and re, se, may, perhaps, have their origin from a Verb; as,

PRESENT.—Paran, hatan, to call, to say. PERFECT.—Pe, he, heo, heo, called, said, he; her, het, hir, hit, it, said.

PRESENT.—Dean, thean, to say. Perfect.—Da, tha, peo, theo, said, the; pec, that, said, that.

Adverbs are formed by constantly using Nouns in certain cases, or from Verbs; as,

Dpilum, hwilum, awhile, now; the dative case of hpile, hwile, time, moment.

Dancer, thances, freely, gratis; the genitive case of panc, thanc, thank, favour.

Let, get, get; the imperative mood of zetan, getan, to get.

Lanz, lang, long; the imperative mood of lanzan, to prolong.

Prepositions and Conjunctions are generally formed from Verbs; as Iremanz, gemang, among; from zemenzan, gemengan, to mix.

Piputan, withutan, without; from pipputan, wirthutan, to be out.

Cac, eac, also, and; from eacan, eachan, to add.

Inc., gif, if; from ziran, gifan, to give.

I have thus briefly traced the formation of the Anglo-Saxon language, that its philosophical structure and great utility, in an etymological point of view, might be more apparent. The amazing extent and facility of forming many very expressive compound words, from a few simple terms, must attract the notice of every Saxon student. Thus we have a Verb combined with Prepositions.

Scanoen, standen, to stand.

Azen-randan, agen-standan, to stand against, oppose.

Ano-reanoan, and-standan, to stand back, resist.

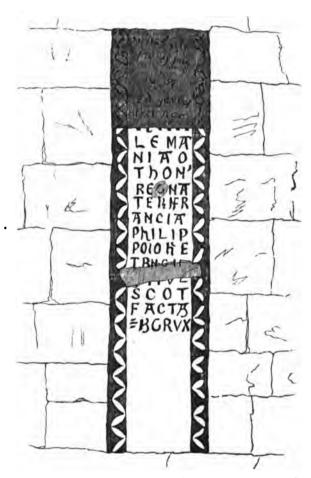
Or-rtandan, of-standan, to stand off, tarry behind.

Under-grandan, under-standan, to stand under, bear, to know, or understand.

Pip-reandan, with-standan, to stand against, withstand, oppose.

The Anglo-Saxons, like other Gothic nations, were remarkable for combining several short significant words to express any complex idea. Instead of adopting technical terms from other languages, it was their usual practice to translate them by a simple combination of the radical words, taken from their own nervous language. Hence, for the word Grammar, the Saxons used the expressive term böc-cpæft, boc-craft, book-craft; composed of böc, boc, a book. and cpæft, cræft, craft, art, knowledge; tungol-cpæftig, tungol-craftig, star-crafty, or an astronomer, which word we have adopted from the Greek irren a star, and num, a law, or rule. Dinbepia, winberia, a wine berry, or grape. Nihtbut-tepflege, nihtbutterfleye, a night butterfly, blatta, or moth. Indigenous Saxon words were formed in the same manner; thus, Stapol-pæfton, stathol-fæston, to confirm or fix firmly, is composed of Stapol, stathol, a foundation, pæft, fæst, firm, fast, and an, an, to give.

XXII.—Account of an old Inscription at Lanercost, Cumberland. In a Letter from the Rev. J. Hodgson, Sec., to J. Adamson, Esq. Sec.



Whelpington, 15th July, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was at Carlisle with Mr. Raine last week; and in our way thither, we called at Lanercost, where we found in the walls of a barn, the vol. II. c c

annexed fragment of an inscription, which is not published either in Burn and Nicholson, or in Hutchinson's History of Cumberland.

It is upon a part of the shaft of the Cross of that place, the pedestal and lower part of which are still remaining in their original situation on the north side of the Priory Church there. The angles of the shaft are neatly and skilfully carved; but I had not time to make a drawing of the remains of the Cross in the Priory Yard or of the fragment of it in the barn. The name of William of Scotland is lost by the stone being broken in two, at the place where it occurred.

A thin plate of stone has been broken off the upper part of the shaft by a natural bed, by which the beginning of the inscription has been lost, but the new surface has been occupied by an epitaph in wretched characters, which I was not at the pains to copy. The inscription translated into modern characters should stand thus:—

.... Alemannia Othone regnante, in Francia Philippo, Johanne in Anglia, Willielmo in Scotia, facta est hæc crux: and in English thus:—When Otho reigned in Germany, Philip in France, John in England, and William in Scotland, this cross was made. Otho died in 1218, Philip in 1223, John 1216, and William in 1214.

I am, My DEAR SIR,

Very faithfully your's,

JOHN HODGSON.

XXIII.—Several old Letters relating to the Nevills, one of them bearing the signature of Richard III, as Duke of Gloucester; communicated by W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., of Wallington.

THE volume in which these letters are contained is chiefly in the hand-writing of Robert Hegge, and in it (amongst other articles) is his "Saint Cuthbert," with the date of 1625 affixed to it, but without the Epistle to the Reader, which in the printed copy is dated 1626; and his "Lectiones Theologica," the first of them dated April 4, 1627, which were printed in 1647.

W. C. T.

A coppie of some letters we were found in Rabie-castle after t Rebellion, to shewe the fashion of those times.

To t ryghtt onerabayll and my vere good lord and master, my lord off . Wyastmorland, yeve thys w sped.

Ryghtt oñarbill and my vere gud lord, my most umbyll dowte had in ramambrs, thys shal be to sarteffy yo' gud Lordchep, that my Lord nevell, my Lade Catryn, my Lade mayre, w' all other yo' Lordcheps housoulld ys meyre. Thanks be to God, for thomas gasguyns byell ys borstyn and allmost holl. I have resavyd yo' Lordcheps later, wherin I do parsave yo' Lordcheps rateryn will nott be so soyn as I wolld wyche god ytt wyer: for thys shortt days and yll wyther henders the wyrkemayn sore, so thatt ytt gose nott so fast forwyard as I wolld wyshe ytt dyd; allso, her ys bott ij q'' off wyahtt wyntyng v pakes, and I knowe off no mor to be had, and for malltt, ther came in iiij q'', and that ys all brawd, wher to have ane more I knowe nott, and all the moyne I had will be gone yes wyke in housolld zcharges and other

neseserys: wherfor I beshe yo' gud Lordchep I may know yo' plesor, and I shall be gllad to acoumplys ytt to the otermost off my small pour, as my bounded dowte ys to do w' the hallpe of god, whome have yo' Lordchep in hes bllysed kepyñg, and send yo' Lordchep myclye oñere and soune home frome yo' Lordcheps maner off Kerkbemorsyd.—ix off november, be the yll hand off yo' Lordcheps pour sarvntt and badme, OSWYNE OGLE.

To the right honorable Lord my Lord the Erle of Westmland.

My Lord, in my most laulyest man that I can I comaunde me unto yo' Lordship, And according unto yo' Lordships comaundement for propayryng for such stuff as yo' Lordship shuld occupy at yo' lowge, At yo' home comyng nowe. As for wyne my Lord, their cane none be gotten sayvyng oon hogissheid, whiche was gotteyn at the Newcastill of reid wyne, which I trust yo' Lordship will thynke wonderous deir: And also my Lord, as for wheit and mawte and other fresshe decatis, what appon yo awne and of other Provision, I trust ye shall be well servied, besuchyng yo' Lordship that ye wold be content for to send over yo' Clerke of your keehyng and your Coke for slevyng of suche man of beveiss and muttons as must be occupyed at yo' Lordships home comyng. My Lord, as con'cnyng yo' comaundement ayence Antony Brakynbury, ayence suche fermoldez as he hath of yo' Lordship: As yo' Lordshipps comandement was, at he shuld avoide theym. for yo' Lordshipps mynd was that ye wold have theym in yo' awne haunde: And as for aunsewer he wold send me none by my sv'nt, but he said that he wold send his with awne svant betweet that and sonday: Also, as tochyng the sekenes within yo' Lordship sithen I was with yo' Lordship; lowed be God their was no steir in the Lordship of Brauncepath: And if their is any other svice that yo' Lordship wold comaunde me withall, I besuch yo' Lordship that I knaw yo' ferther pleasoure theirin. writtyn at Brauncepath, xxviijth Septembre, by yo' fv'nt, R. CLAXTON.

To my worshipfull uncle, Richard Booth, be thes delivered In hast.

Right worshipfull uncle, I hertly comand me unto you, dissiryng you that ye and Ralf Claxton doo stoup all my svints as shulde wait apone me to Caliss, and that they be not w' me afor the xiith day of may, for divs considactoncz, & thus fair ye well. frome Popler the xxvjih day of Aprill, and not to faill but to be w' me the same day.

RAUFF WESTMORLAND.*

To my Lorde Nevyll in hast, &c. &c.

My Lorde Nevyll, I recomaunde me to you as hartely as I can, & as ever ye love me & yo' awne weale & sewrty, & yhs Realme y' ye come to me w' y' ye may make defensably arrayde in all the hast y' ys possyble; and y' ye wyll yef credence to (Sir) Richarde Ratclyff, thys berrerr, whom I nowe do sende to you enstructed w' all my mynde & entent: & my Lorde do me nowe gode fvyce as ye have have always befor don, & I trust nowe so to remembre you, as shalbe y' makyng of you & yours: And God send you goode fortunes.—wrytten att London, the xj'h day of June, w' the hande of

yo' hertely lovyng Cousyn & master,

R. GLOUCESTRE.

* 1484.—Ralph Neville, second Earl of Westmoreland, died without surviving issue, and was succeeded by his nephew Ralph, son of his younger brother Sir John Neville; who married Margaret, (a) daughter of Sir Roger Booth, of Barton, in Lancashire.—Heylyn's Help to English History.

In a pedigree of the Nevilles in the same volume with these letters—which, with several others of North Country families, Hegge copied from a manuscript which he borrowed (as he says) from his Cosen, S. S. (aunderson, (b) added in a later hand), it is said, that Raphe Nevill, 3d Earl of Westmoreland, married Kathren the daughter of Roger Bouthe, of Cheshire, Esq. which appears to be incorrect.

- † This letter is printed in Fenn's Collection, vol. v. p. 302, from a copy sent to him by the Rev. J. Brand, who remarked that it was "doubtless a transcript of an original letter of the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard the 3d, and written just before his seisure of the crown."
- "This letter was written at a busy period of Richard's life; his plans were now in forwardness for his seizing the crown, and his orders must have been sent (perhaps this very day) for the beheading of Rivers, Vaughan, and Gray, at Pontfract. Lord Neville appears to have done Richard former
 - (a) Neice of Laurence Booth, Bishop of Durham, 1457, 1456.—Surtees', Durhum.
 Samuel Sanderson, keeper of Brancepath Castle for King James I., ob. July, 1650.—Surtees' Dur. ii. 348.

services, and he seems to have great confidence from his assistance now, for which he makes most liberal promises."—Fenn, vol. v. p. 305.

The date of the letter is probably Wednesday, 11th June, 1483, 1. Edw. V. On the 13th the prisoners in Pontefract Castle were beheaded, orders to that effect having been sent by the protector to the governor Sir Richard Ratclyff, Knight, "a proper instrument in the hands of this tyrant," says Hume. Hollinshed says, that "the protector specially used his service in that councell, and in the execution of such lawless enterprises, as a man that had been long secret with him, having experience of the world, and a shrewd wit, short and rude in speech, rough and boisterous of behaviour, bold in mischief, as far from pitie as from all fear of God."—Hollinshed, p. 725.

"Ralph Neville, second Earl of Westmoreland, died without surviving issue, in 1484, and was succeeded by his nephew Ralph, son of his younger brother, Sir John Neville, who would not properly be called Lord Neville during his uncle's life, whose second title this was; yet it is probable that Richard might address him by this title as presumptive heir."—Fenn, vol. v. p. 304. Perhaps this letter may have been written to Ralph the second Earl.

"The Nevilles were cousins to Richard by his mother Cecily, Dutchess of York, who was daughter of Ralph Neville, the first Earl of Westmoreland."—Fenn.

A few slight errors in Brand's transcript may be observed by comparing this copy with that in Fenn's Collection.

XXIV.—An Account of a Runic Inscription discovered in Baffin's Bay, communicated by G. T. Fox, Esq., in a letter to the Rev. John Hodgson, Sec.

Durham, Nov. 22, 1826.

My DEAR SIR,

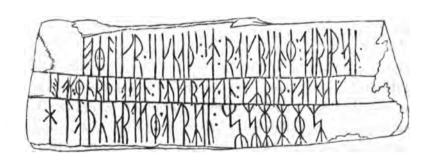
I send you herewith what I take to be a Runic inscription, with a Danish and English translation. It is of considerable antiquity, and perhaps you may judge it worthy of being inserted in our Antiquarian Transactions, not from the value of the composition, which is only the foundation record of a building, but from the curiosity of its locality, and the light it throws on the maritime adventures of an obscure period. Its history is this:—

About two or three years ago, the remains of a rude building were discovered on the top of a small conical island, 700 feet high, one of that group of islands in Baffin's Bay, called the *Frow* or Woman Islands, in lat. 73, and long. 54. Amongst the stones was found one with this inscription, which the governor handed to the Danish government. The latter caused an engraving to be made of it, from a copy of which the inclosed fac-simile was made by Captain George Palmer, of the Cove, whaler, this year, who brought it to me from the above island, or an adjoining Danish garrison, I dont know which.

The date A. D. 1133, shews that maritime excursions were made at that early period, probably by the inhabitants of Iceland, who were in a flourishing state at that time. They had coasted the East side of Greenland, and doubling Cape Farewell, had advanced up the shores of West Greenland in Baffin's Bay, as high as the point where they built a tower, probably to record the extent of their migration. I have not

at hand Crantz's Greenland, to which I refer you for further particulars. Captain Palmer is of opinion that the route must have been made by sea, and not by crossing the peninsula. It is well known that a colony perished on the East of Greenland above Cape Farewell, by the closing in of the ice, the remains of whose habitations are visible at this day.

I remain, DEAR SIR,
Your's, very faithfully,
GEO. T. FOX.



Elligr Sigvards Son og Biorne Torderson, og Enrid Oelson,—Loverdagen forend gangdaeg, (en daeg i Maij Maaned)

eller saaleedes,
Ossreiste denne Vaerde og rijdde Pladsen,
MCXXXIII eller V. aldssae 1133 eller 5

MCXXXIII eller V., aldsaae, 1133 eller 5, (efter Christus.)

TRANSLATION.

Elliger, Signard's Son, and Biorne Torderson, and Enrid Oelson,—on Saturday before the Ascension,

(A day in the Month of May)

or thus,

Erected this Tower and cleared the Ground, MCXXXIII or V, also 1133 or 5, (after Christ.) XXV.—An Account of some Roman Shoes lately discovered at Whitley Castle, Northumberland, in a letter from the Rev. A. Hedley, to John Adamson, Esq., Sec.

Whitfield Rectory, October 2, 1826.

My DEAR SIR,

At our August meeting, you will recollect that you submitted to the inspection of the Society the remains of some old shoes, sent by your colleague, which he affirmed to be Roman, but which the meeting thought more likely to belong to a much more recent period, having been found near the site of an old monastery, in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, though on the line of the Roman Wall. When on a late visit to me here, he rode over with me to Whitley Castle, the Roman Alione, as we heard that the proprietor, Mr. Henderson, had lately been making some excavations among the ruins of the station. Among other things he had found, he told us, some old shoes, and whilst he was gone to fetch them, I recollected those above-mentioned, and was in the very act of rallying our worthy friend on the subject, when as a just judgment on my presumption, in steps Mr. Henderson with perfect facsimiles of them, which he had dug out of an old dunghill, undoubtedly Roman, as well as the shoes. Like those from Carlisle they had been made and worn right and left. Those of the Ladies had been much ornamented and escaloped, &c. in the upper leathers, with ears for laceholes. The soles of some of them were studded with nails of precisely the same kind, so far as I can recollect, as those in the sandals presented to the Society. The nails were of a bright blue colour, probably a ъd VOL. II.

coating of Prussic acid. Among these curious spoils of ancient times were some jet Armillæ, fragments of green glass, very coarse, and evidently cast, and a piece of a transparent vessel of a pale yellow colour, but whether of mineral origin or a composition of that kind of paste in which the ancients sometimes imitated precious stones, we could not, at the moment, decide. It deserves a further examination, and I shall endeavour to procure it from Mr. Henderson, for this purpose. He has partly laid bare a Sudatory; but, perhaps, the most interesting, at any rate, the most valuable discovery, is the dunghill, having already experienced its wonderfully fertilizing effects upon some grass land.—It has by no means the appearance of being effete, but has a sappy unctuous feel, a property which its deep covering of soil has probably tended to preserve.

The acknowledgment of error is always becoming, and often the only amends that can be made for it; and I think it due to truth and to Mr. Hodgson to declare, that I for one condemned the Roman pretensions of his shoes, in utter ignorance of the subject, never having seen any thing of the kind before. I am now, however, quite convinced, that this was a most irreverent proceeding, and that the shoes found at Carlisle and those I saw at Whitley Castle, must have been made and worn by the same people; and as the latter are undoubted remnants of the Roman æra in Britain and of the Roman people, there can be little or no question that we may safely assign to the former a similar origin.—And to ascertain a point of this kind is to the Antiquary of some curiosity and importance, as, if we except their armour and their personal ornaments of metallic or mineral manufacture, shoes are perhaps almost the only species of Roman habiliment that ever have come down to modern times.

I am, My DEAR SIR,
Your's very truly,
ANTHONY HEDLEY.

NXVI.—Some Account of a Cairn opened near Netherwitton, in the County of Northumberland, communicated by W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., of Wallington, to J. Adamson, Esq., Sec.

My DEAR SIR,

I enclose you two sketches of a Cairn which was opened last year near Netherwitton, but which I did not see until a few days ago. The Barrow, near the centre of which it was found, is about 10 yards in diameter, and 6 feet above the tomb, composed of loose rolled stones, probably taken out of the River Font, near which it is situated. The Tomb is about 3 feet long, 1 foot 3 inches wide and 2 feet deep; the sides made of flat sand stones, the top covered with a flat limestone of irregular outline about 15 inches thick and 6 feet long. There were a few bones found in it, but I believe nothing else.

I am, My DEAR SIR,

Very sincerely your's,

W. C. TREVELYAN.





XXVII.—An Account of some Roman Coins discovered near Brampton, in Cumberland, communicated by Mr. Wm. Hutton, and Mr. Chr. Hodgson, to John Adamson, Esq., Sec.

Hanover Square, 6th December, 1826.

DEAR SIR,

Ir the few coins enclosed and the accompanying remarks are worthy the attention of the Antiquarian Society, your communicating them will oblige

Your's, very truly,
WILLIAM HUTTON.

It will be within the recollection of many of the Members of this Society, that in the early part of this year a considerable quantity of Roman coins was found near Brampton, in Cumberland. By the kindness of a friend a few of these coins came into my possession a short time ago, and having the means of communicating with the person who found them, it struck me that a short account of the circumstance, to accompany the few coins, might not be unacceptable to this Society, formed as it is expressly to examine into, and register, the Antiquities of the Northern Counties; and this the more especially, as no other account has been published, but the very meager one which appeared in the Newspapers of the day.

The discovery was made in April, 1826, by a person ploughing ground, which to all appearance had not been worked before. The place is situate about one mile South of Castle Steads now Walton House,—the Roman *Petriana*, the 13th station on the Wall. The name of the

spot is *Hawk Nest*, and the precise situation is on a high ridge of wet land near the top of the field. There was nothing in the circumstances under which the coins were found, to indicate more than ordinary care in depositing them. The vessel was only six inches beneath the surface, and was standing upright and nearly full of coins, no stones around it, nor any cover. The coins were computed at 5,000, they were of copper and brass, and weighed more than 14lbs. The vessel was of clay quite plain, and capable of containing about three quarts. No other piece of antiquity was found at the time, but in the adjoining field, where there are many large stones and other indications of buildings, many separate Roman coins have been found from time to time, and not long ago part of an iron sword, which being taking to some blacksmith near, was by him worked up with other old iron.

The fragments of the vessel (which was broken by a stroke of the plough), together with nearly all the coins, were taken to Naworth Castle, where I am informed they yet remain.

The finding of such hoards as this has been of the greatest use to the Antiquary. In these remote provinces there were probably no Banks or places of deposit in those days, consequently, when a man became possessed of more of the circulating medium than was necessary for present use, he was obliged to store it up. This we may suppose the individual to have done, whose hoard we are now considering, and, quitting his quarters (perhaps for some distant service), he secretes his spare money, making use of one of the common earthen vessels to keep it together, and intending no doubt to dig it up again on his return; this it is most probable never took place, and thus his treasure has been preserved through a period of more than 1500 years, furnishing matter for the investigation of the curious of our own days.

As this Society is the natural place of deposit for the Antiquities of the district, more particularly those connected with the Roman Wall,—I should (with deference) recommend that the Earl of Carlisle be written to upon the subject of these coins, and as in 5,000 there must be many that are alike, it is not improbable that his Lordship might present us with some of them; but, independent of any advantage that the Society's

cabinet might derive from such an application, I should strongly urge that such a measure be adopted in all similar cases of discovery within the district, which would show the Society to be properly alive to the purposes for which it was instituted, and could not fail of doing it good, by making it more generally known.

The four coins now sent, upon which the inscriptions are pretty perfect, and which appear to have undergone scarcely any change, are of the Emperors Valerianus and Gallienus, the former began his reign A. D. 252, and the latter A. D. 260.

Before closing these remarks I would wish to say a few words upon the state in which the coins were when found. As before observed, they were in a damp situation, and this exposure to moisture for a space of 1500 years might, beforehand, be expected to have operated considerable changes on the metals; and we find that most of the coins were adhering together in a mass when found, having undergone a very curious alteration. The great bulk of them were converted almost through their whole substance into brown oxide of copper, having sometimes a partial coating of green carbonate, which, where it has had room, has assumed a very pretty mammilated form; from this I would assume that the major part of the coins have been of copper, which being more easily acted upon than brass, has been altered, whilst many of the brass coins are much less changed, and some of them (as, for instance, the four most perfect now sent,) scarcely at all. These four coins, from their colour, hardness, &c. appear to be brass, with a large proportion of zinc, but time has not allowed me to ascertain the exact proportion. There are also portions of a yellow ochrey substance, which would indicate the presence of iron; this is very likely to have been brought by the moisture from the surrounding earth, or it may have been an accidental alloy in the metal of which the coins were formed.

The latter remarks are not strictly "Antiquarian," but I trust I shall be pardoned for trespassing on the time of the Society, as the changes which the metals undergo by long exposure to moisture is a curious subject, and one that is at present attracting considerable attention.

WILLIAM HUTTON.

Extract of a letter from Mr. C. Hodgson, dated Carlisle, 9th April, 1826, and addressed to the Rev. John Hodgson.

"The field in which these coins were found is called the Hawk's Nest, and the Hall-cust, or Hall Steads. Till within the last 100 years it was in part of a forest, which was thick and continuous all the way from Brampton Old Church to the river Gelt. The place is two fields from the Old Church; and commands a view of Brampton, Castle Steads, Irthington, Bewcastle, Tindale Fell, Carlisle, the Solway Firth, the Scotch hills, and the Castle Carrock, Cumrew, and other fells. Mr. Bell, the occupier of the field, had the swamp at its head drained for the purpose of ploughing through it; and his son John, in performing that work close to the north side of the inclosure, struck off the top of the vessel which contained the coins, and so shattered it, that it fell into several pieces. The number of coins which it contained, will, I think, be not less than 5000; the largest of which are about seven-eighths of an inch, and the smallest about a quarter of an inch in diameter. This field and those adjoining it to the West have very uneven surfaces, as if some sort of buildings or earthworks had been upon them; and great quantities of stones, as well as flags and paving-stones, have from time to time been taken out of them. I should also mention that in ploughing in this field a few years since, about 200 horse shoes were found; and that in a meadow below, a little to the South, there is a considerable tumulus, now planted with oak, and another in an adjoining field, nearer the Turnpike road."

XXVIII.—Account of some ancient Instruments found in quarrying Stone on the South Side of Rosebury Topping in 1826, in a Communication from John Hixon, Esq., to John Adamson, Esq., Sec. See Plate IV. Figs. a, b, c, d, e, f.

THESE ancient Instruments were found in quarrying stone on the South side of Rosebury Topping, Yorkshire, in May, 1826, and are supposed to have been buried at some distant period, by the slipping down of some part of the higher stratum of stone.

Fig. a, has the appearance of a small copper axe much worn down and blunted by use.

Fig. b, is a clumsy sort of socket.

Fig. c, resembles a joiner's gouge.

Fig. d, several pieces were found about a quarter of an inch thick, but none of them join or fit the piece engraved, a small staple is inserted at one corner by which it has been attached to something, and the rebate of another staple is seen at the other corner.

Fig. e, the pipe has been ruptured or torn off something. This was the only one found.

Fig. f, both sides of this stone, which is polished and a species of quartz of a brownish green colour, are alike, and are bevelled. It is nearly two inches thick in the middle. The finders called it a whetstone, but it bears no marks of attrition upon it.

Several of each sort excepting e and f were found, and a mass of copper, or rather of a metal resembling copper, 3lb. weight, and very soft, was found at the same time.

XXIX.—An Account of the Chartulary of Brinkburn, with some Notices respecting those of the Abbies of Newminster and Abwoick, in the County of Northumberland, of Lanercost in Cumberland, and of Shap in Westmorland. By the Rev. John Hodgson, Sec., in a Letter to John Adamson, Esq., Sec.

DEAR SIR,

THE subjoined Schedule, or Index of the contents of one volume of the Chartulary or Register of the possessions of the Priory of Brinkburne, in the county of Northumberland, was forwarded to me in June, 1827, by the President of our Society, from my friend John Caley, Esq., Keeper of his Majesty's Records, in the Chapter House and Augmentation Office, in London, for the purpose of assisting me in writing the history of this county. It was made some years ago by Mr. Caley himself, from the original, at the request of the Duke of Buckingham, and as I fear I may not be able to spare room to print it entire in my work on Northumberland, I transmit it to you, desiring that you will do me the favour of laying it before the next meeting of the Society, and that it may be submitted to the consideration of the Censors of the Society, whether or not it may be adviseable to print it in small type in the Archæologia Æliana, as a note to this letter. In my estimation, it is a very curious and very valuable document, inasmuch as it is a key to a considerable treasure of county and ecclesiastical history. In the year 1638, Roger Dodsworth, made large extracts from the original book then, together with the Chartularies of the Abbeys of Newminster and Alnwick, in the county of Northumberland, Lanercost, in the county of Cumberland, and Shap, in Westmorland, in the possession of Lord William Howard, at Naworth Castle. These extracts are all still existing in the transcript of Dodsworth's Collections, which are in 162 folio volumes, made at the expense of Lord Fairfax, and by him given to the Bodleian Library. Part of them are also to be found in the Lansdowne, MS. 326, which is a copy of two of Dodsworth's volumes; and a considerable part of them have been printed in two editions of Dugdale's Monasticon, for which, and for the same author's Baronage Dodsworth's Collection was expressly made. Robert Treswell, Somerset Herald, about the year 1587 also made several genealogical extracts from the Brinkburn Register, which, besides very copious quotations from the Brinkburn Chartulary, and several unpublished notices out of those of Newminster, Alnwick, Lanercost, and Shap, are copied into that curious and useful treasure-house of genealogical information in the Harleian Collection, No, 294, intituled "Apparatus Genealogicus Anglicus ex diversis in Archivis Recordis compactus."

Lord William Howard, third surviving son of Thomas, the fourth Duke of Norfolk, and common ancestor of the Howards, Earls of Carlisle, became possessed of Naworth, Morpeth, and Hinderskelle, where Castle Howard now stands, by his marriage with Elizabeth daughter to Thomas, and sister and coheir of George, Lord Dacre of Gillisland. He was a nobleman of great talent and learning, and collected a very curious library both of printed and manuscript books, which after his death were permitted by his successors in the estate to remain at Naworth, the principal place of his residence, in the same state and order in which he left them. But as the library was constantly shewn to curious visitors, and the bookcases were not locked up till within the last 20 years, the shelves have been thinned of many very rare and curious works: and amongst the rest the Chartularies already noticed have all, as I have been told, disappeared from Naworth. Some of them perhaps were taken by the agents of the Carlisle family as evidence to courts of justice and never returned: numerous valuable papers are annually lost in this manner. How the Brinkburn Register passed into the hands of Mr. Astle, I am not aware. In becoming his property, however, its existence was secured because he understood its value. Some of the rest may perhaps still exist, but are either secreted, or are in possession of persons, who, from being unable to read them, are ignorant of the nature of their contents. That of Newminster was probably at the dissolution deposited with the Dacre family, as representatives of the Merlays founders of that house. I have in another place* noticed, that I have been told that the late Edward Cook, of Blakemoor, Esq., who was a barrister and a skilful antiquary, was once possessed of it. That of Shap was lost when Dr. Burn edited his History of Westmorland in 1777: perhaps it fell into the Howard Family after Lord William purchased the manor of Thornthwaite, in that Parish, and made the ancient Hall there his occasional residence.†

Dr. Burn in another place says that the Blenkinsops, who married the heiress of Helbeck, "had a large collection of writings, not only relating to themselves but of several other kinds, as divers originals belong-

* History of Northumberland, part II. vol. i. p. 21

† The following notices are from a manuscript book, of the expences of Lord William Howard, now in the possession of William Lawson, Esq., of Longhirst, near Morpeth:—

"1619 paid to Thomas Gray as laid out by him at thorntwhat for a blak freis jerkin for my lord the viijth of October 1619, xvijs. It. for on paer of bouts for my lo: there, xs.-It. for freis for gammasheis by the way, iis. vid.—It, for my lord ryding chargeis from thorntwhat to London beginning the ixth of October till the xixth p bill, xviiil. 10s."-" 1619. Paid to on for bringing letters to Thorntwaht."-" 1620. It for my Lord ryding chargeis from thorntwaht to London begining the xxixth of spereill 1620 p bill, xvijl. xvs. iiijd."—"1621. It, paid at thornwhat to Thomas Lowdian for a bill off peells for a goune and wastcot as appears on the bill paid by tho. gray, &c., xxxixs."—Again in "1621. Imprimis for my lo. ryding chargeis ffrom thorntwhat to London begining the xxxth of April being in companie at my lo. chargeis 24 men and 12 horseis as appears by bill, xxl. xvs. iiiid." -And again in "1621. Imps. for my lo: ryding chargeis from thorntwhat to London begining the xith of november as appears by bill, xiiijl. xixs. vd."-" 1622. It. for a peare of bouts at Thorntwhat for my lo: welt Mr. Radeliffe did pay for, &c.. xs."-" It. for my lo. ryding chargeis from thornthwat to London begining the viij May, be in companie 16 p bill.—It, to the peon at thornwhat the viijth may, xs."-" Rewards sence the first May 1623.-It. to a fellow at thorntwhat 2 may, vs."-1624 It. to my lo: by Mr. Radcleif at thorntwhat 20 May, xs.-It. ffor my lo: ryding chargeis fron thorntwhat to London begininge the xxth May 1624 p bill, ixl. xjs. iiid."—It. to the pson at Thornthwat at my lo: waycoming, xs. "It. to the poore there, ijs."—" 1625. Imp. for my lo ryding charges from thornwhat to London beying the 4th may as appeares by bill being in his companey 6, xviijl. xs. ijd." The Howard family at that time were Roman Catholics. The two presents of 10s. each to the parson of Thornthwaite, were probably given to the Roman Catholic priest kept there. The people in the neighbourhood have still traditions of the famous belted Will residing at the place; and cherish their legacy of hatred to them as papists, by telling their children that lady Howard abhorred all protestants, and used to say, that she hoped to live to ride knee deep in blood down Womgateloaning to Brampton Church.

ing to Shap Abbey and other places, which as it is not known how they came possessed of the same, neither is it known what became thereof, and in all probability they are all now totally lost, except what hath been preserved thereof by copies taken, and extracts made, by the Rev. Thomas Machel, who had free access to the same, and whose collection, therefore, in that respect, is extremely valuable." Mr. Machel died in 1699. The Chartulary of Lanercost, according to Dr. Burn, was still remaining at Naworth in 1777.—Burn and Nicholson's Westmorland, pp. 472, 580, and Pref. iv.

INDEX TO THE REGISTER BOOK

OF THE

PRIORY OF BRENKEBURNE,

FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF THO. ASTLE, ESQ. AND NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, AT STOWE, COMPILED BY JOHN CALEY, ESQ.,
AND BY HIM COMMUNICATED TO THE REV. JOHN HODGSON, SEC.

- Confirmation by Roger Bertram, of the donation made by his father (William the Founder) to the Canons of the blessed Peter of Brynkborn; viz.—Thornhalgh, Foderhalgh, Papurhalgh, Hely, and Unerhely, &c., sans date, fol. 2.
- 2. Grant by Roger Bertram of "illam petariam que est inter Rymlawe et Heleya," s. d. fol. 3.
- 3. Grant by Roger Bertram of all Helihope, with its appurts., s. d. fol. 4.
- 4. Grant by Roger Bertram Dominus de Mitforde of one part of his wood and forest of Rymside, the boundaries expressed, with a reservation that he and those who are with him shall hunt there, s. d. fol. 5.
- Grant by the last mentioned Roger, of another part of the wood of Rymside, with a similar reservation, s. d. fol. 6.
- 6. Confirmation by Roger Bertram of the grant made by his great grandfather (pro air sui), of a part of the wood called Linchwood, the boundaries expressed, s. d. fol. 6. b.
- Confirmation by William de Framlington of the whole land of Little Framlington, and the pasture of Linchwood, s. d. fol. 7.
- Confirmation by John de Eslington of the gifts made to the priory by Roger Bertram and his ancestors, in Feltonshire, with the addition of a toft in Little Framlington, s. d. fol. 8.

- Compromise of a dispute between Tho. Bryan, Clerk, and the Priory, respecting the pasture in Lynchwood and Westrymside, whereby the said Tho. releases all his right in the said wood, &c., on condition that his cattle shall depasture thereon, s. d. fol. 8.
- 10. A similar compromise between Wm., son of Wm. de Bokenfield and Alice his wife, and the Priory, respecting their pasture in Linchwood and Westrimsyde, s. d. fol. 9.
- A charter of David de Strabolgy, Earl of Athol, reciting by inspeximus a record of quo warranto, in which the jury say that the Prior of Brenkburn hath assize of beer, &c., in the town of Framlington, 34. Ed. 3, fol. 9.
- 12. An agreement between Roger Bertram and the Prior and Convent, respecting the holding of a court, &c., and also concerning free chapel, in the manor of Felton, s. d. fol. 10.
- 13. Compromise of a dispute between the Priory and Roger Bertram and Robert de Gamelthorp, wherein it is agreed that the Convent shall have common of pasture in Great and Little Felton, &c., 1256, fol. 11.
- 14. Grant by Roger Bertram, Dominus de Mitford, to the Priory of the priviledge of turning their horses into his lands in Rymside and Walmepethes, s. d. fol. 12.

- 15. Grant by the same Roger of a marl pit (mar-| 30. Obligation by Roger Bertram, Lord of Mitford, lerium), in his wood of Walden, s. d. fol. 12.
- 16. Grant by the same Roger of waste land in Glantele and Snoke, s. d. fol. 12.
- 17. Grant by the same Roger of a toft and croft in Glantele, s. d. fol. 13.
- 18. Grant by the same Roger of land in Evenwode, s. d. fol. 13.
- 19. Grant by Richard de Mora of the manor of Evenwode, 1296, fol. 14.
- 20. Grant by Roger Bertram of land in Little Felton. s. d. fol. 14.
- 21. Release of right by Roger Fitz Payne in Upper Felton, 1242, fol. 15.
- 22. A similar release by Wm. de Scancebi of the same premises, 1242, fol. 15.
- 23. Compromise of a dispute between Roger, son of Wm. de Felton, and the Priory, respecting Upper Felton, 1349, fol. 16.
- 24. Grant by Ralph de Scancebi of land in Over Felton, s. d. fol. 16.
- 25. Grant by the same Ralph of a toft in Over 49. Felton, s. d. fol. 16.
- 26. Grant by the same Ralph of three acres of 50. land there, s. d. fol. 17.
- 27. Another grant by the same of two acres there, 51. s. d. fol. 17.
- 28. License by Robert de Hilton of taking dead wood in the wood of Haysand, 1289, fol. 17.
- 29. Grant by Richard de Morwyk of land in Aketon, s. d. fol. 18.
- 30. Grant by Nich. de Aketon of land there, 1242, 54.
- 31. Confirmation of the preceding grants by Hen. | 55. Release of right by Richard Freman to a toft de Aketon, 1347, fol. 19.
- 32. Grant of Wm. Puffyn of land in Felton, 1257, 56.
- 33. Confirmation of the last grant by Roger Bertram, 1257, fol. 20.
- 34. Grant of Hugh Vigeny of rent in Kirketon, s. d. fol. 21.
- 35. A confirmation of the last grant by Hugh Vigeny, s. d. fol. 21.
- Release of right to the rent last mentioned by Adam de Bokenfeld, 1269, fol. 21.
- Grant by Wm. Bertram of land in Upper Felton, s. d. fol. 22.
- 38. Compromise of a dispute between the Priory and John de Eslinton, respecting a rent of 20s. for the mill of Framlington, 1254, fol. 22.

- to inclose his park before Michaelmas in that year, 1256, fol. 22.
- 40. Grant by Richard, son of Roceline, of land in Thrasterston, s. d. fol. 22.
- 41. Confirmation of the last grant by William, his son, s. d. fol. 23.
- 42. Grant by William Puffyn of land in Thrasterston, s. d. fol. 23.
- 43. Grant by Adam Mansetur of one penny rent, in the place last mentioned, s. d. fol. 24.
- 44. Grant by Agnes, daughter of Thomas, of a toft in Thrasterston, s. d. fol. 24.
- 45. A confirmation of the last grant by the same Agnes, s. d. fol. 24.
- 46. Grant by Hugh Vigeny of a toft and croft in Thrasterston, s. d: fol. 24.
- Grant by William Puffyn of a toft and croft there, s. d. fol. 25.
- 48. Confirmation by Roger Bertram of twelve acres in Thrasterston, s. d. fol. 26.
- Confirmation by John de Vesey of the grant made by Puffyn, s. d. fol. 26.
- Quit claim by Adam Mansetur of the homage due to him in Thrasterton, s. d. fol. 27.
- Grant by William de Blunville of premises in Bokenfelde, s. d. fol. 27.
- Grant by William de Blunville of land in Bokenfelde, 1244, fol. 28.
- Grant by William de Toggesden of 24. rent in Bokenfelde, s. d. fol. 28.
- Grant by William Frankelayne of land in Bokenfelde, s. d. fol. 28.
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- 57. Grant of the same Geoffrey of a toft in Bokenfelde, s. d. fol. 30.
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- 59. Compromise of a dispute about the tithes of Esshet and Bokenfeld, 1224, fol. 31.
- 60. Grant by William de Framlington of land in Framlington, s. d. fol. 31.
- 61. Grant by William Pigace, and Marg. his wife, of 4 messuages in Framlington, s. d. fol. 32.
- 62. Grant to William Pigace, and Marg. his wife, of a toft and three acres of land in Framlington, s. d. fol. 32.

- 63. Grant of Wm. de Latur of land in F. s. d. fol. 32.
- 64. Another grant by the said William of land there, s. d. fol. 33.
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- Confirmation by Alex. de Eslington of lands, &c. in Framlington, s. d. fol. 37.
- Grant by Margery de Framlington of 10 acres of land in Framlington, 1247, fol. 37.
- Grant by Agnes, daughter of William de Framlington, of a toft and croft and 7 acres of land there, s. d. fol. 38.
- 80. Grant by Amabet de Framlington of a toft, &c. there, s. d. fol. 38.
- Confirmation by Marg. de Framlington of the lands given to the Priory by her three husbands, 1246, fol. 38.
- 32. A gift by Margaret de Framlington of Adam, her "native cum teta sequele sua," s. d. fol. 39.
- 83. A deed by which Alan, the Prior, and the Convent of Brinkburn give freedom to the said Adam the Native, s. d. fol. 39.
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- Grant by John de Relington of an assart in Linchwood, a. d. fol. 39.
- 86. Compromise of disputes between Jordan de F. and Marg. his wife, and the Priory, respecting assert lands and common of pasture, c. d. fol. 40.
- Confirmation by William Brien, and Agnes his wife, of all the donstions of William de Framlington to the Canons of Brinkburn, s. d. fol. 40.
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- Another agreement respecting tithes in Framlington, between the Priory and Adam Hirling and Matilda, his wife, 1256, fol. 41.
- Another agreement as to tithes there, between the Priory and John de Eslington, 1349, fol. 41.
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- 92. Grant by Roger Bertram of waste land in Little Framlington, s. d. fol. 41.
- 93. Release by Rog. Bertram of the service due to him in Framlington, s. d. fol. 42.
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- 96. Grant by William de Glanton to Robert de Felton of all the lands he holds in fee of the Prior and Convent of Brinkburn, 1349, fol. 43.
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- 99. Release by William Pyon of all his right to lands in Langlivynton, 1248, fol. 44.
- 100. Confirmation of the last grant by William, his son, s. d. fol. 44.
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- 102. Release by William Pion of a toft and croft &c., in Little Framlington, in consideration of money given to him by the Prior and Convent in his necessity, 1245, fol. 44.
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- 111. Confirmation by Margaret, daughter of William de Framlington, of land in Framlington and Langlevyton, s. d. fol. 47.
- 112. Grant by Roger de Merlay of land on the south part of Coket, s. d. fol. 48.
- 113. Grant by the same of pasture land in Coket, a. d. fol. 48.
- 114. Grant by Roger de Merlay (tertius) of common of pasture in Coket, s. d. fol. 48.
- 115. Grant by Roger de Merlay of as much wood as two horses can carry out of his wood of Coket, s. d. fol. 49.
- 116. Grant by Richard de Merlay of a messuage in Stanton, s. d. fol. 49.
- 117. Confirmation by Roger de Merlay (tertius) of all the grants made by him and his ancestors, s. d. fol. 49.
- 118. A deed by which Richard de Hely, Rector of Horsley, renounces all right to the tithes of a certain culture circa Coket, the same being in the manurance of the Priory, and therefore not liable to such a payment, s. d. fol. 50.
- 119. Pleas before the Justices itinerant at York. wherein William de Whelpinton was summoned to answer to the Prior of Brenkburne, why he unjustly detains three charters from him; the defence is, that thieves broke into his house and stole the seals from two of them, and the third he delivered to the Priory, 27 E. 1. fol. 50.
- 120. A memorandum that John, son of Patrick de Kesterne, gave to the Priory of Great Tirwhite twelve messuages, sixteen oxgangs of land, and thirty acres of meadow, &c., s. d. fol. 51. 144. Confirmation by the same of the grant made

- 104. Another release of right by William Pyon of 1121. Grant by John de Kesterne of land, &c., in Great Tirwhit, e. d. fol. 51.
- 105. Another release by the said William Pyon, as 122. An exchange of lands in Tirwhit between the Priory and John and Adam, sons of Michael de Tirwhit, s. d. fol. 51.
 - made by William, his father, of Lands in Lit-123. Grant by John de Kesterne of his demesne in Great Tirwhit, s. d. fol. 52.
 - 124. Grant by the same of a toft and croft there, s. d. fol. 52.
 - 125. Grant by the same of land in Tirwhit inferior. s. d. fol. 52.
 - 126. Grant by the same of lands in Tirwhit, s. d. fol. 53.
 - 127. Grant by Agnes de Tirwhit of a toft and croft in Upper Tirwhit, s. d. foi. 53.
 - 128. Confirmation by John de Kesterne of the last mentioned grant, s. d. fol. 53.
 - 129. Grant by William Fitz Geoffrey of a toft and crofts in Upper Tirwhit, e. d. fol. 54.
 - 130 Confirmation by Agnes, daughter of Robert de superiore Tirwhit, of the last mentioned ; grant, 1241, fol. 54.
 - 131. Confirmation of the same by John Fitz Hugh of Upper Tirwhit, s. d. fol. 54.
 - 132. Grant by Adam (Frater Nich. parvi) of the moiety of a mill in Great Tirwhit, 1241, fol. 55.
 - 133. Grant by Tho. Fitz Alan of lands in Upper Tirwhit, s. d. fol. 55.
 - 134. Grant of Alan Jay of three acres of land ad sustentationem luminarij Refectorij, s. d. fol. 55.
 - 135. Grant by Gregory de Oterington of Land in Tirwhit, 1243, fol. 55.
 - 136. Grant by Adam, son of Helye de Tirwhit, of land there, 1244, fol. 55.
 - 137. Confirmation by John de Kesterne of divers grants made by his ancestors, 1272, fol. 55.
 - 138. Release of right by Adam de Cambhus to a toft in Tirwhit, 31. H. 3. fol. 56.
 - 139. Release by Adam de Tirwhit of land in Tirwhit, 1252, fol. 56.
 - 140. Grant by Wm., son of Ylif, of land in Warton, s. d. fol. 57.
 - 141. Grant by John, son of Walden, of a toft and croft in Little Tossan, 1245, fol. 57.
 - 142. Grant by Rlias, son of Hulred, of lands in Little Tossan, s. d. fol. 57.
 - 143. Grant by John, son of Walden, of land there, s. d. fol. 57.

- to the Priory by Rlias, son of Hulred, s. d | 165. Grant by William de Butleston of rent in
- 145. Grant by John de Kesterne of land in Kes- 166. Grant by Stephen de Gillinge and Agnes his terne, s. d. fol. 59.
- between the Prior and Convent of Brenkburn
- 147. Grant by Alice de Umfraville of rent of the 169. Grant by Henry, Prince of Scotland, son of mill of Babington, s. d. fol. 59.
- 148. Grant by the Nunnery of Halistan of rent due from the above mill, s. d. fol. 59.
- 149. Grant by Ralph de Trihamton of rent in Hayning, s. d. fol. 60.
- 150. Grant by Ralph de Yetham and Raganild his wife of land in Roxburgh, s. d. fol. 60.
- 151. Confirmation of the last grant by Gilbert Fraser and Christian his wife, s. d. fol. 60.
- 152. Agreement between the Priory of Brenkburne Roxburgh, s. d. fol. 60.
- 153. Another agreement between the same parties 174. Grant by Berrard de Baliol of a messuage in respecting land there, s. d. fol. 60.
- pasture in Edlingham, 1259, fol. 61.
- Whittingham, Thrownton, and Barton, s. d. fol.
- Whittingham Wood, s. d. fol. 62.
- 157. Grant by Thomas Fitz Michael of a capital 178. Grant by John de Plessiz of a place called measuage in Barton and lands in Whittingham, s. d. fol. 62.
- 158. Confirmation of the same by Tho. his son, s. d.
- 159. Release of right to lands in Whittingham. 23. E. 3. fol. 62.
- 160. Licence by William de Vesey to the poor canons of Brunkburne of buying and selling within his town of Alnwick, s. d. fol. 63.
- .161. Confirmation of the last grant by John de Vesev, s. d. fol. 63.
- 162. Grant by William de Vesey of a toft in Alnemonthe, s. d. fol. 63.
- 163. Agreement between the Priory of Brenkburn and the canons of Alnwick respecting the 186. Grant by Olivia de Schotton of land there, tithes of Swinley, s.d. fol. 63.
- 164. Grant by Nicholas de Hawkehill of rent in Hawkehill, s. d. fol. 64.

- Wirkworth, s. d. fol. 64.
- wife of rent in Wirkworth, s. d. fol. 64.
- 146. Agreement respecting lands in Kesterne made 167. Grant of other rent in the same town by Hugh, Son of Gregory, a. d. fol. 64.
 - and the Prioress and Nuns of Halistane, 1240, 168. Grant by German Tysun of a toft in Wirkworth, s. d. fol. 65.
 - David I. of a salt pit in Warkworth, s. d. fol.
 - 170. Grant of another salt pit there by Robert Fitz Roger, s. d. fol. 65.
 - 171. Confirmation by William, Earl of Northumberland, of a salt pit in Warkworth, s. d. fol. 65.
 - 172. Agreement between the Priory of Brinkburn and the Nuns of Werkworth respecting the tithes of fishery and saltworks there, 1247,
 - and the Monks of Kelso respecting land in 173. Grant by John de Neubiggyng of two tofts in Neubiggyng, s. d. fol. 65.
 - Neubiggyng, s. d. fol. 66.
- 154. Grant by John de Edlingham of common of 175. Confirmation of the same by Hugh de Baliol s. d. fol. 66.
- 155. Grant by John Fitz Simon of his lands in 176. Grant by the Priory to Symon, son of Manger, of two tofts in Neubiggyng in consideration of the yearly rent of 500 herrings, 1334, fol. 66.
- 156. Grant by Robert de Glanton of estovers in 177. Confirmation by Bernard de Baliol of a messuage in Newbiggyng, s. d. fol. 66.
 - Herfordbridge, 1267, fol. 66.
 - 179. Grant by Askil, Son of Edmund, of land in Herford, s. d. fol. 67.
 - 180. Confirmation of the last grant by Richard, son of Angylic, s. d. fol. 67.
 - Throwton, and Barton, by Rob. de Ralington, 181. Grant of land in Herford by Adam, son of Gilbert de Schotton, s. d. fol. 67.
 - 182. Grant by Simon de Plessiz of suit of mill in Herford, Schotton, and Plessig, s. d. fol. 67.
 - 183. Grant by the same Simon of pasture in Herford, s. d. fol. 68.
 - 184. Grant by William Paris of land in Schotton, s. d. fol. 68.
 - 185. Grant by William, son of Roger de Schotton, of land in that town, s. d. fol. 69.
 - s. d. fol. 69.
 - 187. Grant by Robert de Blaykeston of lands in Schotton, s. d. fol. 69.

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- 188. Grant by Gilbert de Schotton of lands there, 211. Agreement between the Priory and Henricum s. d. fol. 69.
- 189. Grant by Simon de Plessiz of lands theres. d. fol. 69.
- 190. Grant by William de Schotton of land there, s. d. fol. 70.
- 191. Confirmation by Margaret de Schotton of the 212. Grant from Henr. Mendicus to John Fitz Geoflast mentioned grant, s. d. fol. 70.
- 192. Grant by James de Bolum of a salt pit in Cupum, s. d. fol. 70.
- 193. Confirmation of the last grant by Gilbert de Bolum, e. d. fol. 70.
- Bolum, s. d. fol. 70.
- 195. Grant by John Fitz Hugh of lands in Cupum, 215. Acknowledgment from Simon the Master and s. d. fol. 71.
- 196. Confirmation of the last grant by Walter de Bolum, s. d. fol. 71.
- 197. Grant by John Fitz Hugh of other land in Cupum, s. d. fol. 71.
- 198. Grant by Roger Fitz Hugh of land there, s. d. fol. 71.
- 199. Grant in fee by the Priory to Tho. de Fenwic of land in Stamfordham and Matfen reserving a yearly rent of 8d. 1256, fol. 72.
- 200. Grant by Tho. de Fenwic of lands in Heton Magna, s. d. fol. 72.
- 201. Grant in fee by the Priory to Robert de 219. Grant by the Priory of a toft in Gatesheved Stamfordham of land in Matfen with a reservation of rent, 1241, fol. 73.
- 202. Grant by Tho. Sturdi of land in Hulkeston. s. d. fol. 73.
- 203. Grant by Agnes daughter of Hew Mopper of " unam Celdam" in Corbridge, s. d. fol. 73.
- 204. Grant by John Bugllum of a shop in Corbridge, 1245, fol. 74.
- 205. Grant by Rob. de Neuham of rent in Neuham, s. d. fol. 74.
- 206. Grant by Simon Fitz John of a toft in Prestwick, s. d. fol. 74.
- 207. A fine between Roger Bertram, plaintiff, and 224. John Fitz Robert, deforcient, of the manor of Felton, 1235, fol. 75.
- 208. Grant by Wm. de Felton of rents, &c. in New castle, 1292, fol. 75.
- 209. Grant in fee by the Priory of premises in Newcastle to Tho. de Castello with a reservation of rent, 1307, fol. 76.
- 210. Grant by Tho. son of Alexander de Gloucester, of land in Newcastle, s. d. fol. 77.

- Medicum by which a house in Newcastle is conveyed to the said Henr. at a fee farm rent of &. per ann. with license to alienate except to Jews and religious persons, 1249, fol. 77.
- frey de Halivell of rent in Newcastle, in free marriage with Ysota, his daughter, s. d. fol. 77.
- 213. Release of right by John de Haliwell and Ysota his wife, of the house last mentioned, s. d. fol. 77.
- 194. Another confirmation of the same by Walter de 214. Grant by Giuz de Arenis of rent in Newcastle from a messuage there, s. d. fol, 78.
 - his Brethren of the Hospital of Westgate that they are bound to pay rent to the Priory of Brinkburn for the last mentioned measuage. s. d. fol. 78.
 - 216. Grant by the Priory to Samuel Fitz Robert of land in Newcastle, with a reservation of rent, s. d. fol. 78.
 - 217. Grant by John Raynald of a messuage in Newcastle, s. d. fol. 78.
 - 218. Grant by the Priory to Hen, Slaver of a house in Newcastle, with a reservation of rent, 1249.
 - to Mr. Benes, with a reservation of rent. s. d.
 - 220. Grant by Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, of land and a fishery in Quicham, s. d. fol. 79.
 - 221. Confirmation by the same Bishop of James de Bolum's grant of a salt pit in Cupum, &c., s. d. fol. 79.
 - 222. Grant by the same Bishop of land between Heley and Coket, s. d. fol. 80.
 - 223. Confirmation by the same Bishop of the grants made to the Priory by Roger Bertram, s. d. fol.
 - Confirmation by Bishop Pudsey of the priviledge of sepulture within the Priory, a. d. fol. 80.
 - 225. Grant by Phil., Bishop of Durham, of the church of Felton, s. d. fol. 80.
 - 226. Confirmation of the last grant by the Prior and Convent of Durham, s. d. fol. 80.
 - Acknowledgement bythe Priory of Brinkburn that they are bound to find one pound of wax for the light of the chapel of the infirmary, 1253, fol. 80.

- 228. Renunciation of right by the Priory of Pent- | 237. A charter by which the King takes the Priory ney, over that of Brenkburne, s. d. fol. 81.
- 229. Agreement between the last mentioned Priories by which it is accorded, amongst other things, that if the Priory of Pentney, choose to send a monk of their house, at any time, to Brenkburne, he shall be treated as one of their own body, s. d. fol. 81.
- 230. The King's confirmation of the several grants
- 231. Grant by King John that certain lands of the Priory in Linchwood, &c., shall be quit ab omni Regardo Foreste, 2 John, fol. 82.
- 232. Confirmation by King Henry III. of the several grants made to the Priory, 37 H. 3, fol. 82.
- 233. Another confirmation by the King of Helyhope and other lands given to the Priory, 37 H. 3, fol. 83.
- 234. A similar confirmation by the same King, of lands in Evenwode, &c. 43 H. 3, fol. 83.
- 235. Another confirmation by the same King, of 245. Fine between John Fitz Simon, plaintiff, and Brenkburne, Felton, &c., s. d. fol. 83.
- 236. A confirmation by Henry (filius Regis Scotie) of the place called Brinkburn, s. d. fol. 84.

- into his protection, 37 H. 3, fol. 84.
- 238. Licence to receive Mr. Felton's rent in Newconveyed by him, to the Priory in Thrastercastle, in exchange for messuages and lands ston, 21 Ed. 1, fol. 84.
- 239. Pardon to the Priory for having purchased the rents in Newcastle above mentioned prior to the licence being obtained, 8 Ed. 3, fol. 85.
- made to the Priory of Brenkburne, 2 John, fol. 240. Pope Urban's bull granting divers priviledges to the Priory, s. d. fol. 85.
 - 241. (Year of Pontiff omitted) Pope Urban's bull, granting power to correct the canons when faulty, &c., 15 Kal. April, fol. 87.
 - 242. The King's license to appropriate the church of Horsley, 10 Ric. 2, fol. 88.
 - 243. Grant by Ralph, Baron of Graystock, of the advowson of the above church, 1387, fol, 88.
 - 244. Appropriation of the church of Horsley by Walter, Bishop of Durham, to the Priory, 1391, fol. 89.
 - Michael Fitz Michael and others, deforciants of the capital messuage of Barton and divers lands, 19 H. 3.

XXX.—The Household Expences, for one Year, of Philip, third Lord Wharton, communicated by W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq. of Wallington.

Philip, third Lord Wharton (of whose household expences for one year the following is a copy) was grandson of Sir Thomas Wharton, Knt. who was created Baron by Henry VIII. in 1544, for his services against the Scotch, and son of Thomas, second Lord Wharton (who died in 1572), and Anne, daughter of Robert Devereux, Earl of Sussex. Philip married Frances, daughter of Henry Clifford, second Earl of Cumberland; he died in 1625, and was buried in Helaugh Church, his wife died in 1592, and lies in Kirkby Stephen Church.

Thomas, first Lord Wharton, died in 1568, and was buried in Helaugh Church, where is a fine altar tomb to him and his second wife, Anne, daughter of Francis, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, who survived him some years. There is also a monument to him and his two wives in Kirkby Stephen church.—See Hunter's Hallamshire, p. 61. and Burn and Nicolson's Hist. of Westmorland and Cumberland, vol. i. pp. 540, 559.

Wharton Hall, in Kirkby Stephen parish, Westmorland, was going fast to ruin, till it was repaired by Lord Lonsdale for the use of his tenant; the chapel is now used as a dairy, in the kitchen are two large fire places, and in the hall is one twelve feet wide. It, with most of the Wharton possessions, was sold by Philip, sixth and last Lord Wharton, to the Lowther family.—See Beauties of England and Wales.

It will be seen from the account for month 5, that fasting during Lent was very strictly observed in Lord Wharton's family. His grand-mother died a Roman Catholic in 1582, but I am not aware that he was of that religion; neither does his observing the fast of Lent prove that he was, as it appears that the statutes of Edward VI. and Elizabeth for

the observance of fast-days were strictly enforced even to a much later period, when it was necessary for Protestants to get dispensations for permission to eat meat in Lent. By 35 Eliz. c. 7. s. 18, persons of the degree of a Lord of Parliament, or their wives, should pay for their license, yearly, into the poor's box of their parish, 26s. 8d. Knights and their wives, 13s. 4d.—and other persons, 6s. 8d. In 2 and 3 of Edward VI. c. 19. the reasons given for enforcing the observance of fast days, are, "that due and godly abstinence is a mean to virtue, and specially that fishers and men using the trade of living by fishing in the sea, may thereby the rather be set on work, and that by eating of fish much flesh shall be saved and increased."

In sections 39 and 40 of the act of Elizabeth, it is stated that the statute for abstaining from flesh "is purposely intended and meant politically for the increase of fishermen and mariners, and repairing of port towns and navigation."

I subjoin the copy of a licence to eat flesh in Lent granted in 1660.

"Guilielmus Providentia divina Cants Archiepus totius Angliæ Primas et Metroponus ad infra scripta authoritate Parlament Angliæ legitime fulcitus—Dilecto nobis in Christo Gualtero Calverley de Calverley in Com Eboraci, Armigero Salutem et gratiam cum Leges ad utilitatem omnium conditæ ad salutem singulor de rigore suo aliquid remittere etiam ipsæ cupiant Nos ex relacone tua aliorumo, fide dignorum testimonio intelligentes piscium esum sanitati corporis tui adversum esse Salutem tuam ex animo Poptantes Pmittimus et indulgemus Tibi ut una cum Quinq quibusvis aliis arbitrio tuo eligend et ad mensam tuam invitand, Carnibus cum debita gratiarum accone hoc tempore quadragesimali vesci possis Volumus tamen quod sobriè, id et frugati, cautè itidem, et ad vitănd publicum Scandalum (quoad fieri possit) tectè non palam facias. Proviso etiam quod Sumam sex Solidorum et octo Denariorum in parochia infra quam habitabis ad Cistam pauperum conferes et munerabis juxta Statut in Parlament Angliæ in ea parte edit et provip Volumus etiam quòd omnia et singula alia Pimplebis et observabis quæ in dict. statut ac proclamaconibus aliisq constituconibus Regiis

respective continentur. Datum sub Sigillo ad facultates sexto die Martii Anno Dñi (stylo Angliæ) 1660 Et nïæ Translaconis Anno primo.

Jo. Berkenhead ad Facuttes Comrius.

RICHUS BAYLIE CLICVS

Facultatu.

Regratus P Johem Spencer Clicum Regie Ma^{tts} ad facultates in Cancellaria.

Partridges killed by the Hawke are mentioned in Month 13.

It appears from the following letter, that the Hawks used in the diversion of Falconry were sometimes procured from Ireland; it is taken from the 33d vol. of Hopkinson's valuable Collections in Miss Currer's library, and was copied by him from the original in Sheffield Castle. It is addressed to Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, and is endorsed "Captaine Esmond, of Ireland, to the Earle of Shrewsberrie, of Dogs and hawkes."

Right hoble my very good Lord. I long since received a letter from your Lopp for a brace of great dogs, which shortly after the receipt I provided, but heareing soon after that the bearer was gone over unto your Loop about some other busines I made bold to staye them with me. I did my best indeavour to gett white doggs and cold gett but one of that colour fitt to be presented to your Lopp the other is yellowe, and both are good especially the white, for I doe assure your Lopp there is not in this land that I can heare of a better to kill the wolfe and stagg, he killed this last springe three great old wolves, without the helpe of any other dogg, I am sorie this yeare doth not affoard me a hawke worthy the sending to your Lopp and for these two yeares past I can not well excuse my selfe but onely lett your Lopp knowe that I tooke course to provide, but wanted either experience or discipline to keepe them, for twice I had gotten hawkes in mue, of purpose to have sent them your Lopp but still miscarried. I doe wishe there were some good occasion wherein I might shewe the bounden dutie I owe your Lopp in which noe man shalbe found more faithfull then I that am & ever shall remaine—from Duncañon the one & twentieth of July 1608. my most humble dutie & service remembered to my ever honored Ladye & mistresse.

Your Lopps most humble servant at Comaund LAURENCE ESMONDE.

To the right hoble my very good Lord the Earle of Shrewsberrie at his house Broad Street London.

The original is written on 15 sheets (excepting the note of Kitchen fee) which were fastened together in a long roll, but which I have separated for their better preservation by having them bound.

As in the Northumberland Household Book, the numbers are expressed, not by figures, but by the old numerical letters as below.* It is only in money that the hundred consists of five score, in all other articles the enumerations are made by the hundred of six score or 120, according to which I have reduced the calculations at the end to their real sums.

W. C. TREVELYAN.

Wallington, Feb. 2, 1829.

* voiiiixxxvii is five hundred four score seventeen, or 617.
vxxxix is five score and nineteen or, 119.
viim ixcvxxvii is seven thousand nine hundred five score seven, or 9587.

Wharton.—The declaracion of thexpence in howseholde of the right honorable Phillippe Lord Wharton from the xxxth daie of October in the seaven and Twentye yeare of the Reigne of oure Soveraigne Ladie Quene Elizabeth &c. and contynuynge untill the said xxxth of October in the xxviijth yeare of the reigne of oure said Soveraigne Ladie Quene Elizabethe beinge one hole yeare as hereafter followethe, &c.

Expended from the xxxth of October till the xxvijth of November 1585	Whereof cam yssue in bread after the raite of xlis caste in evye bz. In Malte—v qr. vij. bz. 1 pc. at iijs. iiijd. bz	vijl. xvijs. vjd. xxs. viijs. iijd. iiijs. xiijs. vjd. xlviijs. ixd. ixl. vs. xxxs. iijs. vjs. iijd.
PR1		eshe iiiic li m.

There was measses of meate served this monnthe ve iiijxxxvij minde { fishe iiijc li m. fishe cxlvj. m. Straungrs cciiijxxv m. di. Difficyents vxxxix m. Ord Psons—vjc xij m. di.

^{*} di. dimidium, half.

[†] Multon, Multo, used in law Latin, a Mutton or sheep.

[‡] Cunnyes, Conys, Rabbits.

[§] Ravenstonedals manor and advowson which belonged to the Priory of Watton in Yorkshire, at the dissolution, were granted to the Archbishop of York for his life, and in 1546 the reversion to Thomas Lord Wharton, for the sum of £935. 16s. 8d. being ten years' purchase.

2 Monnthe.	Wheat v qr. j pa d. raited at vs. vid. the bz Whereof cam yssue in bread after the raite of xl. c. in evye bz	xil. ije. ob.
	Malte vij qr. iiij bz. i pc. raited at iijs. iiijd. bz Whereof came yasue in beare after the \(\chi xxx\) hoggesraite of j hoggeshead in ij bz. malte \(\exi\) head v gall.	xl. xd.
•	In Malte brewed in aille vij bz. at iijs. iiijd. bz	xxiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
	In Wheat for brewinge ij bz. raited unto	xjs.
	In flower to Kitchin vij bz. d. pc. at vs. vid. the bz	xxxixs. ijd.
•	In hoppes xxxvj b. at vjd. b	xviijs.
	In Whitelights xij stone lijl. d. at ilijs. viijd. stone In Beifs ilij carc. ix pece d. at xls. carc	lvijs. ijd. ixl. vijs. iiijd.
	In Multons lij caice i qr. ij stro. at iiijs. caice	xl. ixs. viijd.
	In Salte v bz. at ijs. ilijd. bz	xis. viijd.
	In vealles of stoore ij caice vallued to	viij <i>s</i> .
•	In Cunnyes from Healaughe* xxtic cuple at vid. cupple	XI.
Expended from	In Cunnyes from Ravinstondaill iiijor cuple at vid. cupple	ijs.
the xxvijth of	In Hennes from Phillippe Atkinson ij dosen & viij at	· viijs.
Novemb. untill	In Saltefishe xxxiij f. d. at xd. the fishe	xxviijs. ixd.
the xxvth of De-	In the vallue of Presents, Porke iiijor Chynes-xvjd.	
cember 1585.	Spareribbes ijo — viijd. Pestles of Porke j—vjd.	
	Piggs ij—ijs. Capons viij—vjs. viijd. Geise iij—	
	ijs. Hennes iij—xijd. Ptriggs xiij—iijs. iijd. Quailes	xxiiijs. vd.
	vij—xxjd. Smalbyrds iiijor dosen—xijd. Turbatt	
	d. one ijs. Codlings vj—xviijd. Crabbes iij—ixd.	
	In Spice expended this monnthe besides expended in	
	the chambres, Sugar xijlb. at xixd. lb. xixs. Currants	
	vjlb.—ijs. vjd. Raisons vlb. d.—xxijd. Prones iiijlb.	wlia willa
	xijd. Pepp. ijlb.—ixs. iiijd. Synnamon i qr. iijs. ijd.	xljs. viijd.
	Nutmugges i qr.—ijs. iijd. Maice ij ouncs—xxijd.	
	Gynger j qr.—ixd	
	In Caitor Pcells this monnthe as in buyinge Seafishe, freshe wattr fishe, butter, eggs, mylke, yeaste, Oite-	
	mealle, gease, capons, cunnyes, vealle, wildfoulle, and	xilb. xviiis. iiiid.
	other necessaries for thuse of the howse as pticu-	
	lerlie appearethe in the howshold booke	
	Suma totalis of this Monnthe lxvijl xvjd. ob.	
	•	

There was measses of meate served this monnthe vic. viij m.d.inde { fleshe cecclxx m. fishe clviij m.

^{*}Healaughs, a parish hear Tadcaster, where the Wharton's had a seat; in the church are the tombs of Thomas first Lord Wharton, his second lady, Anne, daughter of Francis, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, and his grandson Philip. In Helaugh was a priory of Augustine Monks.

3	M	ano	the
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Expended from the xxvth of Decemberuntilthe xxijth of Januarie 1585.

Wheate vi qr. iij bz. ij pc. d. raited at vs. vid. bz	xiiijl. iijs. xid.
Whereof cam yesue in bread after the raite of xl c. in a bz. m viic xxv caste	• • •
after the raite of xl c. in a bz. In viic xxv caste	
Malte ix qr. ij bz. i pc. raited at iijs. iiijd. bz	xij <i>l</i> . vijs. vid.
When a Comment in boom	
after the raite of i ho. v. g.	
In wheat for brewinge this monnthe ij bz	xis.
In malte for aille vij bz. at iijs. iiijd. bz	xxiijs. iiijd.
In flower to Kitchin i qr. iij bz. ij pcz at vs. vid. bz	lxiijs. iijd.
In Hoppes xxxvj b. at vid. b	xviijs.
In Whitelights xiiij sto. iiij b. di. at iiijs. viijd. stone	lxvis. xd.
In beifs vi carc. xi pece di. raited at xls. carc	xiij <i>l.</i> xijs. viijd.
In Multons lxxviij ca. iij qr. stro. at iiijs. caice	xvl. xvs. iiijd.
In brawnes ij thone vallued at xxvjs. viijd. and thother	Ave. Ave. mju.
to xxs	xlvis. viijd.
In vealles iij of stoore vallued to	xiis.
In Swannes i from Robte Shawe	••
In Hennes from Phillippe Atkinson v dosen v hennes	xijs.
at iijs. dosen	xvjs. iij <i>d</i> .
In Hennes from Naitbye* xvij at iijd. pece	iiia iiid
In Saltefishe ly at xijd. the pece	iiij s . iij <i>d.</i> lvs.
In the vallue of Presents, Signetts i—vis. viijd. Tur-	149.
kies iii vie Paigocks ii ve Gaisa ii viid Piggs	
kies iij—vis. Paicocks ij—vs. Geise ij—xvjd. Piggs ij—ijs. Capons iij—iijs. Phesante i—xijd. Wild-	
geise ij—xijd. Mallerds ij—viijd. Hearonsewe† i—	
	xlvis. ixd.
cockes v—xvd. Tealles xiij—ijs. ijd. Snipes xxiiij	
—iijs. vid. Felfaires x—vid. Smalbyrds v dosen—xd.	
Freshe Salmon i—iijs. iiijd	
In Wyldfoulle from James Wilson, Woodcocks xij at	vs.
iijd pece—iijs. Ptriggs iiijor at iijd a pece xijd.	
Smalbyrds xvi—xijd	
In Spice expend in the Kitchin besids the chambers,	
Sugar xxviijlb. at xixd. lb. xliiijs. iiijd. Currants	
xxvi lb. at vd. lb. xs. xd. Raisons xxij lb. at iiijd. lb.	
vijs. iiijd. Prones xxx lb. at iijd. lb. vijs. vid. Synna-	
mon iij b. di. at ixs. b. xxxis. vid. Gyng iiij b. di.	•
at ijs. vjd. lb. xis. iijd. In ppepp ix lb. at iiijs. viijd.	xil. xvis. vd.
b. xlijs. Annesseeds viij b. at ixd. b. vis. in Licores	-10. X 110. Tu.
x lb. at viijd. lb. vjs. viijd. Maice ij lb. at xiiijd. lb.	
xxviijs. Cloves i B. di. at vijs. B. xs. vid. Nutmuggs	
i b. di. at viijs. b. xijs. Issinglas iij b. at iiijs. b. xijs.	
Turnesaill‡ di. lb. xijd. Sanders‡ i lb. ijs. Saffrone	
i ounce ijs. vid. Rise ij lb. xijd	
In Caitor Peells this Monnthe as in buyinge vealles,	
Capons, Pigges, Hennes, Wildfoulle, Seafishe, fresh	•
	xiiij <i>l.</i> vs. ob.
nyes, Oitemealle, and other necessaries of howshold	-
as pticulerlie appearethe in the howshold booke J	
Suma Totalis of this Monnthe cjl. xiiijd. ob.	·
Managin Vishba Stanban madab	

^{*} Naithye, Nateby, a Manor in Kirkby Stephen parish.

† Hearonsew, Heronshaw or Heron: here I would wish to correct an error in p. 114, vol. ii, of the Archelogia Eliana, where Haranc sor should be translated red Herrings, not heronsor.

[†] Turnesoil, Turnsole, a plant used in giving confections a purple colour, as Sanders was for staining them red.

There was measses of meate served this monnthe viije lxxi m. di. inde fishe cvxxj m. di. Straungers vcxvij m. iii Psons. Ord. viclxx m. di. Deffec. iiijxxi m.

	CTITE	
4 Monnthe.	Wheat v q. i bz. iij pc. at vs. viijd	xjl. xvjs. vijd.
	Whereof cam yssue in bread after mcccvxxxc.	
	ine raite of xi cast in evye bz.	
		xl iijs. iiijd.
	Whereof cam yssue in beare after	-
	Whereof cam yssue in beare after the raite of one ho. in ij bz. malte xxx ho. xxg.	
	In malte brewed in aille viij bz. at iijs. iiijd. bz	xxvis. viijd.
	In Wheat for brewinge ij bz. raited to	xis. iiijd.
	In Flower to Kitchin iij bz. iij pc. at vs. viijd. bz	xxis. iijd.
	In Hoppes xxxvj lb. at vid. lb	xviijs.
	In Whitelights xi sto. x 16. at iiijs. viijd. sto.	liiijs. viijd.
	In Beifs v carc. vij pece at xls. carcas	xjl.
	In Multons xlvij caice ij qr. ij stro. at iiijs. caice	ix <i>l.</i> xs. viij <i>d</i> .
	In Saltefishe lxi f. di. raited at xiid. fishe	lxis. vid.
	1 m	
	In Hennes from Phillippe Atkinson xxix at iiid. pece	vijs. iij <i>d</i> .
	In Hennes from the bailife of Wharton xiiij at iijd.pece	iijs. vid.
T. C		iijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Ex. from	In Hennes from Shappe† xl at iiid. a pece.	x <i>s</i> .
xxijth of Janua-	In Fishe cominge frome Yorke, Sturgion ij pece—iijs.)	*** ** 7
rie, 1585, till the		xiijs. ijd.
xixth of Feb.	Roadhearing lvi—xiiijd. as appearethe	
1585.	In the vallue of presents, Turkes ij—vs. Capons viij—	
	viijs. Hennes vii—iis. iiijd. Lambes ii—vis. Geise	
	i—viijd. Bacon i pece—iijs. Mallerds i—vid. Teal- }	xxixs. iiijd.
	les i—ijd. Cowshotts‡ ij—iiijd. Freshe Salmon i—	
	iijs. iiijd. as appearethe in the howshold booke J	
	In Spice expended in the Kitchin besids the Chambers	
	Sugar xxlb. at xixd.lb. xxxis. viijd. Currants xviij lb.	
	at vd. lb. vijs. vid. Raisons xvj lb. at iiijd. lb. vs. iiijd.	
	Prones xij b. at iijd. iijs. Pepp. vb. at iiijs. viijd. b.	iiijL vijs. xd.
	xxiijs. iiijd. Gynger i b.—ijs. vid. Nutmugges iij qr.	• •
	b.—vis. Maice di. b. vijs. Rise iij lb.—xviijd	
	In Caitor Pcells this monnthe, as in buyinge Veall, Ca-	
	pons, Hennes, Cunnyes, Wildfoulle, Seafishe, freshe	
		xvl xvjs, iijd.
	saries as pticulerlie appearethe in the howsehold	J - J
	booke	
	Suma Totalis of this Monnthe lxxvl. xiiijs. vijd.	

There was measses of meat served this monnthe viic ix m. inde fishe ccxxvi m.

Straungers iiijc xxxiiij m. iij Psons.
Deffic cix m. iij Psonnes.
Ord. vic m. i Psonn.

* Carberghe, Kabergh, or Kaber, a Manor in the parish of Kirkby Stephen.

⁺ Shap, The possessions of the Abbey of Shap were granted in 1544, to Thomas, Lord Wharton, with the Monasteries of Gisburn and Rival, at the yearly rent of £41. 11s. with the Reversion in the Crown, which James I. in 1810, granted to Philip, third Lord Wharton and his heirs male.

[‡] Coushot, Cushat-Wood Pigeon.

5 Monnthe.	In Wheat v qr. ij bz. i pc. di. raited at vis. the bz xijl. xiiijs. iijd. Whereof cam yssue in bread after I
	the raite of xl caste in every bz.
	In Malte vi qr. i bz. iij pc. at iijs. iiijd. the bz viiil. vs. xd.
	Whereof cam issue in beare after the raite (xxiiij ho.
	of one hoggeshead in ij bz. malte∫ xxxv g.
	In malte brewed in Aille vi bz. raited at iijs. liijd.the bz. xxs.
	In Wheat for brewinge i bz. ii pc raited at vis. the bz. ixs.
	In Flower for Kitchinge—ii bz. di. pc. raited at vis. bz. xijs. ixd.
	In Hoppes xxvij lb. raited at vid. lb xiijd. vid.
	In Whitelights vi stone vi b. iij qr. at iiijs. viijd. stone xxxs. iijd.
	In Saltefishe cxxiij fishe raited at xijd. fishe vijl. iiis.
	In Whitehearings mmcv raited at iis. vid. the c lijs. vijd.
ı	In Redhearings cccxxxij at iis. vid. the c viijs. ijd.
Expended from	In Salte Salmon xv from Sr. Henrie Curvoen, *at ijs.pece xxxs.
the xixth of Fe-	In Salte Eilles xviij at ivd. pece vis.
bruarie, 1585,	In Sturgion ij pece vallued toiiijs.
till the xixth of	In Hennes for my lo. Clifford xi at iiijd. a pece vacat qz. intr.
Marche, 1586.	In the vallue of presents, freshe Salmon ii—vis. viijd. Viiis. viiid.
	Tenches 1 — 13. as appearethe
;	In Spice expended this mounth besids the Chambers,
	Sugar, xvi & at xixd the & xxvs. iiijd. Currents
	xvi b. at vd. the b.—vis. viijd. Raisons, xiiij b. at
	iiijd. lb.—iiijs. viijd. Prones xij lb. at iijd. lb.—iijs. lxxvis. ijd.
	repp in w. at inja. vina. w.—xinja. Gynger i w.— i
	ijs. vid. Nutmugge iij qr. lb.—vis. Maice di. lb.—vijs.
;	Cloves v ouncz—ijs. vid. Synnamon di. lb. iiijs. vid.
	sic in toto
	In Caitor Peells this mounthe as in buyinge Seafishe,
	freshwattr fishe, butter, eggs, mylke, yeaste, can-
	dleweake, musterd seed, and other necessaries, for xil. xvis. iiijd.
	thuse of the howse, as pticulerlie appeareth sett
	downe in the howshold booke
There was	Suma totalis of this Monnthe liijl. xs. vid.
Andre was	measses of meat served this monathe, all in fishe ve vxxiiij m. di. Straungrecciiij m. di.
	Deficientsiij xvijj m. i Pson.
	Ordney Psons yevzzyi m. i Pson.

^{*} Sir Henry Curven, of Workington, served in parliament for the county, sixth year of Edward VI. and first of Elizabeth. At the mouth of the Derwent, at Workington, is a large calmon fishery.

6 Monnthe.	(In Wheat-v qr. ii bz. i pc. raited at vis. viijd. bz xiiijl. xx	i d.
	Whereof cam yssue in bread after the raite of xl c. in evye bz	
	the raite of xl c. in evye bz	
	In Malte—vi qr. vij bz. i pc. di. at iijs. iiijd. the bz ixl. iiijs.	vij <i>d</i> .
	Whereof cam yssue in beare after (xxvij ho. xxvij	
	the raite of one ho. in ii bz. malte f qr. di.	_
	In Wheat for brewinge, ii bz xiijs. iiij	
	In Malte brewed in Aille i qr. raited at iijs. iiijd. bz. xxvis. vi	nj a .
•	In Hoppes xxxvi b. raited at vid. b xviijs.	,
'	In Whitelights iiij st. xij b. and iij qr. at iiijs. viijd. sto. xxiis. xi In Flower to Kitchin i bz. i pe- at iiis. iiiid. bz viiis. iiii	
,	In Flower to Kitchin i bz. i pe at iiis. iiiid. bz viiis. iiii In Beifs ii carc. xi peice at iij b. carc viijl. viii	
	In Multons ix ca. at vs. the caice). III(4.
	In Saltefishe iiiixxiiij fishe at xiid. fish iiiil. iiijs	
	In Whitehearings ixc lxviij at iis. vid. the c xxiiis. v	
	In Readhearings xxxii at 4 jd viiid.	
	In Salte Salmon v fishe at iis. a fishe xs.	
	In Sturgion iiii pece at iis. the pece viiis.	
Erranded from	In Salte Eilles, vi vallued to iis.	_
Expended from the xixth of	The large in the large way are the large with the large way and the large way are the large way and the large way are th	
Marche to the	In Eggs from Ravinstondaille iijc xl iijs. iiijd	
xvith of Aprill,	In tigges of Knabystephini Tieme I vanded to Ant.	
1586.	In Hennes from Reagill xviij vallued to vis. In the vallue of presents, freshe Salmon ii—vis. viijd.	
	Capons iiijor—iiiis. Turkies i—iis. vid. Chynes of	
	Porke ii—viiid. Pocs of Porke i—vid. Bacon one xxviiis.	iid.
•	flicke-viijs. Porpus pigge‡ i-iis. vid. Sturgion i-	
	ilis. iliid. in toto	
	In Spice expended this monnthe besids the chambers,	
	Sugar xvi lb. at xixd. the lb. xxvs. iiijd. Currants	
	xiiij lb. at vd. lb.—vs. xd.—in Raisons xii lb. at iiijd.	
	b. iiijs. Prones x b. at iiid. b. iis. vid. Pepp. ii b. di. at kviis. v	iiid.
	iiijs. viijd. lb.—xis. viijd. Gynger i lb—iis. vid. Maice vi	
	ouncz vs. viijd. Cloves iiiior ouncz—iis. Synnamon di. b. iiiis. vid. Nutmugges di. b.—iiis. viijd. in toto	
	In Caitor peells this monnthe as in buyinge vealles,	
	Capons, Hennes, Wildfoulle, Seafishe, fresh watter	
	fishe, butter, eggs, mylke, yeaste, hony, Salte, xiiijl. vi	iis. id.
	Candleweake, and other necessaries, for thuse of	
	the howse as appearethe pticulerlie sett downe in	
	the howshold booke	
	Suma Totalis of this Monnthe lxiiijl xixs. jd.	
	There was measses of meate fleshe coveraij m. di.	
	s'rved this monnthe D ciim. inde fishe cccviii m. di. Straungra cccxl m. i pson.	
	Defic iiiixxxiiij m. iij psons.	
	Ord Dyxxxv m, i pson.	

^{*} The Rectorial possessions in Kirkby Steples parish, in the time of William I. were granted by Ivo de Tailbois, to St. Mary's Abbey, York, and at the dissolution were obtained by Thomas, Lord Wharton, who, in 8th Eliz. founded a free grammar school there.

⁺ Reagill, a manor in Crosby Ravensworth parish, given by the Veteriponts to Shap Abbey, and at the dissolution sold to Lord Wharton.

[†] Porpus pigge-Porpesse-once a royal dish. - See Pennant

234 The Household Expences of Philip, third Lord Wharton.

7 Manusha	o In Wheata iiii at wii he ii no di at via -iii d h-	_1117 1111. 22.5
7 Monnthe.	In Wheate iiij qr. vij bz. ij pc. di. at vis. viijd. bz	xiij <i>l</i> , iiijs. ij <i>d</i> .
	Whereof cam yssue in bread after the raite of xl caste in a bz	
1	In Malte v qr. vij bz. di. pc. raited at iijs. iiijd. bz	vijl. xvijs. id.
	Whereof cam yesue in beare after \(\) xxiij ho. xxij g.	Vije. AVije. 14.
	the raite of one ho. in ij bz. malte di.	
	In Wheate for brewinge 1 bz. vallued to	vis. viijd.
	In Malte brewed in Aille iiij bz. at iiis. iiijd	xiijs. iiijd.
	In flower for Kitchin ij pca vallued to	iijs. iiijd.
	In Hoppes xviii b. at vjd. b.	ixs.
	In Whitelights iiij stone i lb. i qr. at iiijs. viijd. stone	xixs, iijd.
	In Beifs iii carc. xj pece di. at iij b. a carc	xil. ixs.
	In Multons vi caice i qr. at vs. the caice	xxxis. iijd.
	In Saltefishe xxxiiij fishe at xijd. pece	xxxiiijs.
Expended from	In Pigges from Kirkbystephin of the Tiethe there, one	•
the xvith of Apr	vallued to	xijd.
1586, till the	In Rabbitts from Ravinstondaill iij	vid.
xith of Maye,	In P'nts this monnthe, Capons viij—viijs. Piggeons	
1586, at Whar-	xxxiiij pre. at id. ob. pre.—iiijs. iijd. Kidds i—iis.	xxvis. vd.
ton, being three	iiijd. Chickins xi—xxijd. Pigges i—xijd. Sturgion	AAVIS. VO.
weeks and three	di. one—vs. freshe Salmon i—iiijs	
daies.	In Spice besids expended in the Chambers, Sugar xv lb.	
	at xixd. the lb.—xxiijs. ixd. Currants xvi lb. at vd. lb.	
	vis. viijd. Raysings x b. at iiijd. biiis. iiiid. Prones	
	xii lb. at iijd. the lb.—iijs. Pepp. iij lb. at iiijs. viijd.	lxvs. ixd. ob.
	the to.—xilijs. Gynger lij qr. or a to. at ljs. via. to. ;	IAVO. IAG. VO.
	xxijd. ob. Nutmugges di. lb.—iijs. viijd. Maice i qr.	
•	iijs. vid. Cloves iij ouncz—xviijd. Synnamon di. lb.	
	iiijs. vid.—so in all the spice this monnthe	•
	In Caitor peells this monnthe as in buyinge Vealles,	
	Capons, Hennes, Chickins, Wildfoulle, Seafishe,	xvl. xvd.
	freshe Watter fishe, butter, eggs, yeaste, and other	•
	necessaries, and fresh Acchaits* for thuse of the	
	howse, as appe'the by pc'ells p'ticulerlie sett downe	
	in the howshold booke	
	Suma totalis of lviijl. ijs. ob.	
	this monnthe	

There was measses of meat s'rved this monnthe ve xxxiiij m, di. inde { fleshe ccciiijxxxi m. di. fishe clxiij m.

Straungers ccvxxii m. Defic.....cxviij m. di, Ord.iiije iiijxx iij m.

[·] Acchaits, Achat, purchases—from the French.

Monnthe.
 Healaughe.

Expended from

the iiiith of May

weh my lo. chil-

dren cam to He-

laughe upon un-

till the liijth of

June, 1586, beinge a Monnthe

and fower daies.

In Wheate viij qr. v bz i pc raited at iijs. iiijd. the bz. xil. xs. xd. Whereof cam yssue in bread as appearethe in the howshold booke m. Dvxxvijc. di. In Malte xij qr iiij bz. iij pc. raited at ijs. the bz...... xl. xviijd. Whereof cam yssue in beare after the \ xxxiij ho. raite of one hoggeshead in iij bz. malte f xxiij g. In Wheat for brewinge i qr. at iijs. iiijd. the bz. In Flower for Kitchin iiii bz. iij pcs. at iijs. iiijd. the bz. xxvis. viijd. xvs. xd. In Hoppes vxxxii lb. vallued to In Whitelights v stone i lb. i qr. at iiijd. lb. xxiijs. ixd. In Beifs vi carc. xi pece di. whereof two at iiij l. a) xvijl. xijs. xd. pece and the reste vallued at xls. a pece In Multons ly caice vallued at vs. a caice xiijl. xvs. In Saltefishe lvij fishe at xd. a fishe xlvijs. vid. In Piggeons of Stoore at Helaughe xxij pre. at id. ob. a iis. ixd. pre. In Piggeons of stoore from Synningthwait* x pre. ... In Sturgion one Cagge vallued to In the vallue of presents, Chickyns vxxxi at ijd. a pece xviijs vid. Grenegeise x-iijs. iiijd. Doterells vxd. Turkies ij-vs. iiijd. Capons lx-iij lb. Piggeons xvi pre. at id. ob. the pre.—iis. Rabitts xxiij cople at iiijd. cople vijs. viijd. Watterhennes iij—vid. Egges c—ijs. Lambes i—iijs. Pigges iiij—iiijs. vl. viijs. vijd. Shepe Starlings xii—iiijd. Umbers† vij—vid. Barbles i—id. Trowts vi—iiijd. Chevons ij—iid. as appearethe in the howshold booke In Spice, viz. course Sugar xxx lb. at xijd. lb.—xxxs. other Sugar xvi ib. at xviijd. ib.—xxiiijs. Raisons i gr. of c viijs. iiijd. Prones i gr. of c-vis. Currants i qr. of a c & a halfe xiiis. vid. Synnamon i lb. ixs. vil. xiijs. xid. iiijd. Gynger iij lb.—vs. Pepp. iii lb.—xvs. Nutmuggs, di. b.-iijs. ixd. Maice di. b.-vijs. Daits i b.-ijs. Ryse vi b.-ijs. Cloves di. b.-ijs. iijd. Almonds vi b.—vs. ixd. In Caitor peells this monnthe, as in buyinge vealles, Capons, Hennes, Chickyns, Wildfoulle, Seafishe, freshe watter fishe, (41. 13s. 2d.) butter, eggs, mylke, yeaste, Musterd Seed, Candles, and other > xviiil xis. necessaries and acchaits for thuse of the howse, as appearethe pticulerlie sett downe every daie in the

There was measses of meat s'rved this monnthe vijc iii m. inde.

howshold booke

fleshe iiije vxxij m. di. fishe ccxx m. di.

Strangra ccclxxix m. i pson. Defic. xxiiij m. Ord. Dclxxij.

Suma Totalis of this monnthe iiijxxxijl. xs. vd.

^{*} Symmingthwait, near York; in 1692, Philip, fourth Lord Wharton left an estate there for the purchase and annual distribution of Bibles and Catechisms in certain places mentioned by him, in Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Buckinghamshire—the number of bibles 1050.—See Hunter's Doncaster, i. 50.

[†] Umber or Grayling, Salmo Thymallus.—Lin. † Cheson or Chub, Cyprinus cephalus.—Lin.

9 monnthe.

md. my lo. of
Rutland* was
here this
monnthe.

In Wheat vii qr. iii bz. i pc. di. raited at iiis. iiiid. bz. Whereof cam yssue in bread after the mijic vxxj c. raite of xxx caste in every bz. In Malte xii qr. i bz. ii pcs. raited at iis. the bz, Whereof came yssue in beare after the) xxxii ho. raite of i hoggeshead in iii bz. malte xx galls. In Wheat for brewinge iii bz. raited at iiis. iiiid. the bz. In Flower for kitchin i qr. ii pc. di. raited at iiis. iiiid.bz. In Hoppes lvi b. vallued to In Whitelights iii stone xiii lb. iii qr. at iiiis. viiid. sto. In Beifs vi carc. ii pece di. whereof one greate oxe) raited at vi L and the reste at xls. the carc. In Multons of Stoore lix ca. i qr. i stro. at vs. the caic In Saltefishe lii raited at xd. the fishe In Hearonsewes paied for by Mr. Shawe vi vallued to In Moorecocks xiiii wch cam for the of Swaldaille + pd for by Mr. Shawe iis. iiiid. and for his paynes and chardge web brought them iis. vid. agaynste my lo. of Rutland's cominge to Helaughe......

Expended from the iiijth of June 1586, till the Seconnd of Julie, 1586.

vi lb.—xxxs. Nutmuggs iii qr. lb.—vs. viid. ob. Maice iii qr.—xs. vid. Daits i lb.—iis. Rise v lb.—xxd. Cloves i lb.—iiis. vid. Almonds iiii lb.—iiis. Saffron di. i ounce xvd. Sanders di. lb. xiid. So

Sum Totalis of this Monnthe iiiixxiil. xviijs. viiid.

There was measses of meate s'rved this monnthe vic iiiixx viii m. inde

fleshe iiiic vxxx m. fishe ciiiixxxviii m.

xvl. iiis. vd.

viil. vis. viiid. ob.

ixl. xviis. xid.

ixl. xvs.

xiiis. iiiid.

xviiis. viid.

xvil. viis. id.

xliiis. iiiid.

iiii**s. x**d.

· liis. iijd.

xiiiil. xvis. viiid.

xxviiis. vid. ob.

Str. ccclxxiii m.
Defic. lvij m.
Ord. vic iiiixxxviii m.

^{*} Edward Earl of Rulland, 9th July, 1586, as chief commissioner for the Queen, concluded a league with the Scottish King's commissioners at Berwick. He died 14th April, 1587.

† Swaldale, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, in which some manors belonged to Lord Wharton.

10 Monnthe. Synningthwaite md. my lo. and my la. were a fornighte at Skipton this monnthe.	Wheate v qr. ii bz. iii pcs. raited at iiis. iiiid. bz	viil, iis. vid. viil, viis. ixd.
·	In Wheat for brewinge—ii bz. at iiis. iiiid. bz In Hoppes xxviii bb. at vid. the lb In Flower for Kitchin v bz. at iiis. iiiid. the bz In Whitelights one stone iiii lb. iii qr. at iiiid. the lb In Beifs iiiior carcas xi pece raited at xls. the carcas In Multons lii caice ii stro raited at vs. the caice In Saltefishe xxix fishe di. at xd. the fishe In Piggeons ix pre. of the stoore from Syningthwaite	vis. viiid. xiiiis. xvis. viiid. vis. vid. ixl. xis. vd. xiiil. xd. xxiiiis. viid.
Expended from the Second of Julie till the xxxth. of the same, 1586.	In the vallue of Presents, Capons v—vs. Chickins two—vid. Rabbitts xxvi at vd. cople—vs. iid. Ptriggs 2—vid. Pickerells* vii—iiid. Eilles iii—iid. Sturgeon iii pece iiis. as appearethe in the howshold booke	xiiiis. viiid.
•	—xiiiid. Pepp. for bakinge venyson and other things as appth iii b.—xvs. Ginger di. b. xd. Nutmuggs ii qr.—xxiid. and Maice i qr.—iiis. vid	· viil. xiis. vid.
There was meas		she ceclvij m. e v ^{zz.} xviii m.

Pickerell-Pike

11 Mounthe. nota this was read Wheat and did no yeld so many cast in a

Expended from

xxviith of Au-

the xxxth Julie till the

guste, 1586.

In Wheat vi gr. v bz. ii pcs. raited at iiis. iiiid. bz..... xl. vs. Whereof cam yssue in bread m ccc l caste, In Malte xi qr. ii bz. i pe raited at iis. the bz. ixl. vid. Whereof cam yasue in beare after the xxx ho. raite of one hoggeshead in iii bz. malte iii g. In Wheat for brewinge iiii bz. at iiis. iiiid. the bz...... xiiis. ijiid. xxviiis. xxiiiis. iid. In Whitelights iii stone iiii b. di, at iiiis. viiid. stone xvs. vid. In Beifs v carc. x pece di. raited at xls. the carc...... In Multons xl caice ii qr. raited at vs. a caice xvl. iis. vid. In Saltefishe xlii fishe raited at xd. the fishe In Piggeons of Stoore from Helaughe (cpre.) and Synningthwait coats (43 pre.) cxl iii pre. vallued at id. xxs. iiiid. ob. ob. pre. In the vallue of presents, Moorecocks v—xvd. moore Powlts ii—iiiid. as appeareth xixd. In the vallue of Spice this monnthe, Sugar xx b. at xixd the lb, xxxis viiid Currents xii b. at vd. the 16.—vs. In Raisons vi 16.—iic. Prones iiii 16. xiid. Synnamon di. lb...iiiis. vid. Maice vi ouncz. \ iiil. xviis. iiiid.

vs. vid. Cloves di. lb. iis. iiid. Pepp. iiii lb. xxe. Nutmugges di. lb. iiis. ixd. Gynger i lb. xxd. so in the hoolle

In Caitor peells this monnthe, as in buyinge vealles, Pigges, capons, Chickins, Seafishe, freshewatter fishe, butter, eggs, yeaste, musterd seed, and other \x1 xviis. vd. necessaries for thuse of the howse, as appearethe p'ticulerlie sett downe in the howshold booke

Suma Totalis of this | lavijl. xs. viijd.

fleshe cccvxxix m. fishe cxliij m. There was measses of meat s'ved this mounthe vexlij m. inde.

> Straungra sived this mounthecculij m. di. Deficiente of the Ordinry allowance...... vxxxv m. Ordin'y P'sons s'ved this monntheDvxxiiii m. i p'son.

12 Monnth. nota this was the moste pte read wheate. nota my lo. of	In Wheate vii qr. v bz. raited at iiis. iiiid. the bz Whereof cam yssue in bread after the raite of xxv c. in every bz. In Malte xi qr. ii pc. raited at iis. the bz. Whereof cam yssue in beare after the xxix Ho.	xl. iiis. iiiid. viiil. xviis.
Cumbri. and my La, were here	raite of one Hogg. in iij bz. malte xx g. In wheat for brewinge iiij bz. at iijs. iiijd. the bz	xiiis. iiiid.
this monnthe,	In Hoppes lvi b. raited at vid. the b.	xxviiis.
	In Flower for the Kytchin i qr. iiii bz. i pc. di. at iiis.	
	In Whitelights v stone xiii b. di. raited at iiiis. viiid.	xxviis. xd.
	In Beifs v carc. x pece raited at xlvis. viiid. carcas	xiiil vis. viiid.
Expended from	In Multons lx caice raited at vs. the pece In Saltefishe xlix fishe di. raited at xd. the fishe	xv <i>l.</i> xlis. iii <i>d.</i>
the xxviith of	In Piggeons from Helaughe iiiior pre. and from Syn-)	
Auguste, 1586,	ingthwait xii pre. at id. ob. the pre	iis.
till the xxiiiith of September next followinge,	In the vallue of presents, Ptriggs. x—xxd. and by the Hawke xvi—iis. viiid. vealle one qr. from Mr. Vavisor—iiis. Connyes viii—iis. viiid. Seagulles ii—viiid. Tealles ii—iiiid. Snypes iiii—vid. Smalbyrds one dosen iid.	· xis. viiid.
·	In the vallue of Spice Sugar xxvi b. at xixd. the b. xlis. iid. Currants xiib.—vs. Raisons viii b. iis. viiid. Prones viii b.—iis. Synnamon di. b. iiiis. vid. Maice i qr. b. iiiis. viiid. Cloves di. b. iiis. iiid. Pepp. vii b. xxxvs. Nutmuggs di. b. iiis. ixd. Gynger i b. di.—iis. vid. sic in toto	vi. iiis. vis.
	Pigges, Capons, Chickyns, Connyes, Wildfoulle, Seafishe, freshe Watter fishe, buttr, eggs, yeaste, and other necessaries for thuse of the howse as appth by p'cells every daie sett downe in the howshold booke	xil xvis. xd.

Suma totalis of this Monnthe laxijl. xijs. viijd.

There was measses of meat s'rved this monnthe vc. lxv m. di. inde { fleshe iijc. xvij m. di. fyshe cxlviij m.

Straungra s'ved this monnthe....... ccvxxiii m. iii psons.

Deficient of the ordinry alloc....... lx m. iii p'sons.

Ordin p'sons s'ved this month....... vicxxiii m. di.

^{*}George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, born in 1558, married Margaret Russell, youngest daughter of the Earl of Bedford.

240 The Household Expences of Philip, third Lord Wharton.

13 Monnthe.	In Wheat vi qr. i pc. Rye iii qr. rated at vs. the bz. Wheat and iiis. iiiid. the bz. Rye
1	raite of xxv c. in one bz
	In Wheat for brewinge ii bz. at vs. the bz
	In Beifs v carc. xii pece raited at xlvis. viiid. carc. xiiil. xiiis. iiiid. In Multons lxvi caice di. at vs. the caice
Expended from the xxiiiith of	In Piggeons of stoore from Helaughe Coate vxxiiii pre. at id. ob. pre
Septem: till the xxix th of October, 1586.	In Piggeons of the stoore from Syningthwait coate viiis. vid. In Presents this monnthe, Capons vi—vis. Ptriggs viii—
201, 2000.	iis. Fesaunts i—viiid. Woodcocks viii—xxd. Snipes xii xviiid. Stynts* ii dozen—iis. Larks xx—iiiid. as ap-
	In spice this monnthe, Sugar xxx b. at xixd. the b — xiviis. vid. Currants xviii b. at vd. the b.—viis. vid.
	Raisons xvi lb.—vs. iiiid. Prones x lb.—iis. vid. Synnamon di. lb.—vs. Maice vi ouncz—vs. viiid. ciiiis. ixd. Clovesdi.lb.—iis. iiid. Pepp. iiii lb.—xxs. Nutmugges
	iii qr. lb.—vs. viiid. Gynger ii lb.—iiis. iiiid. so in all In Caitor peells this monnthe as in buyinge vealles,
	Pigges, Capons, Chickins, Geise, Cunnyes, Wildfoulle, Seafishe, Freshe watter fishe, butter, eggs, yeaste, Candleweake, and other necessaries for thuse xiiiil. xiiis. vid.
	of the howse as appearethe pticulerlie sett downe
	Suma Totalis of this monnthe and one weeke
There was meas	ses of meat s'rved this monnthe D c xxxvii m. inde. Fleshe iiiic lxxix m. Fishe clxxviii m.
	Str
Backhowse.	whereof in the In Wheate at Wharton of the measure there xxxvi qr. vii iiiixxviii. xs. iiid. bz. ii pc. di. In Wheate at Helaughe & Syningthwait), vbz. cliil. xis. id.
	In Wheate at Helaughe & Syningthwait lxvs.xd. iiipcs iiipcs Whereof cam yssue in bread—xviii m. and ii caste.

^{*} Stynt or Purre-Tringa cinclus Lia:

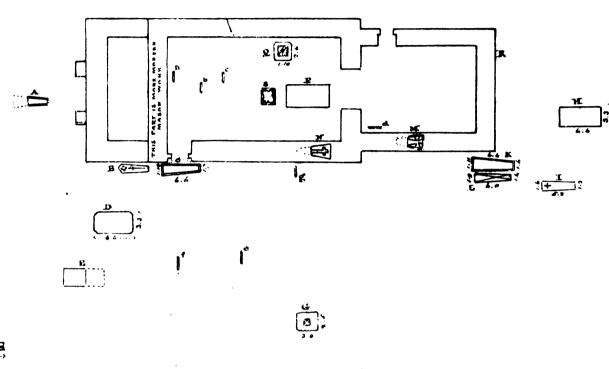
Brewhowse.	In Malte at Wharton of the mesure there xlix are iii bz. In Malte at Helaughe and Syning there ix iii bz. In Wheat for brewinge at Wharton of the mesure there—i qr. iiii bz. In Wheat for brewinge at Helaughe and Syning thwaite of the mesure there iii qr. In Wheat for brewinge at Helaughe and Syning thwaite of the mesure there iii qr. In Hoppes—iiiic vxxiiii ib. weighte at vxx and xii ib. in the c—xiiil viis. Whereof cam yssue in beare—cccxx Hoggesheads xxxviii	. cxlix <i>l.</i> xis. iiiid,
	gallons	
	In Malte brewed in Aille at Wharton—v qr. vi bz. viil. xiiis.	
Ewrie.	In Whitelights—iiiixxxiii stone v lb	xxil.xvis.id.
Kitchinge.	at Wharton of the mesure there—iii qr. iii bz. In Flower at Helaughe and Syningthwaite v qr.i bz. In Beifs—lxiii carc. iiii pece di. at div se prics cxlvl. iis. xd. In Multons—Dx caice ii qr. ii stro	1

^{*} Musicaline, a rich wine brought from Candia.

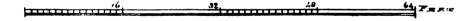
[†] The above sums which are calculated by the old six score or 120 to the Hundred, reduced to the modern five score per cent., are as follow:—(a.) 9600.—(b.) 6404.—(a.) 3813.—(d.) 4946.—(a.) 1358.—(f.) 9587.

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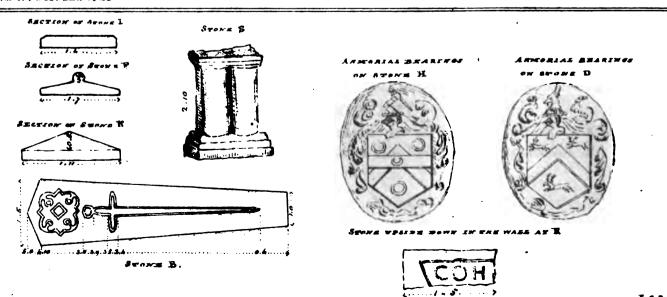
PLAN OF THE REMAINS OF AN OLD CHURCH ON THE GOSFORTH ESTATE







DRAWN // OCTOBER 1826



XXXI.—An Account of the Remains of a Chapel, or Church, and Kirk Garth, near Low Gosforth House, in the County of Northumberland, in a Letter from Mr. John Bell, Librarian, to John Adamson, Esq., Sec. See Plate VII.

Windmill Hills, Gateshead, 20th December, 1826.

DEAR SIR.

On the Gosforth estate, rather better than a gun-shot to the south-south-east of Low Gosforth House, the seat of Robert William Brandling, Esq., and about nine furlongs north from the present church, are the remains of a chapel, or church, and kirk-garth, with some tombstones. Mr. Brandling having, in the course of this summer, had the place cleared of the weeds and long-deposited rubbish that covered it, which shewed a number more of these mementoes, and as there is little or no notice of this chapel in any of our county histories, I was induced to walk out to view it, when I took the plan and copies of the existing inscriptions, which I send herewith, for the Society's acceptance.

The place is curious, there being evident traces of it having been on fire, and part of it being of more modern mason work, causes a conjecture that it has been partly re-built, leaving out a portion of the west end, but subsequently to have fallen over to the south, as the walls shew, which are standing about three or four feet high, and in the front are leaning outwards.

THE STONES

- A. C. K. Are oblong, with only a moulding round the edge.
- B. An oblong stone, marked with a sword and an ornament.

- D. A table stone, with armorial bearings, viz. a Chevron between three Bucks. Inscribed "The burial place of John Robinson Senior Lucy his wife depted ye 2d of Novemb. 1664 also William Robinson their Son Margarett his wife depted ye 12th of Novem 1666 also Elizabeth his wife who departed ye 26 of October 1691.
- E. An un-lettered table stone broken in two.
- F. An oblong stone raised along the middle.
- G. The base or foot of a cross, from having a square hole for the shaft thereof.
- H. A table stone, with armorial bearings, viz. a Chevron debruised by a Fess, charged with a Crescent between three Annulets, inscribed

The Buriall place of William Hedley yeoman Mary his Wife & 12 children He depted Octob' ye 29 1664 John their Son depted June the 18th 1665.

HIS EPITAPH.

In christian hope one Rests Here
Observe yet Reader Shed a Teare
He was a Godly Zealous Youth
Never desserting from the Truth
Humilitie Love Honestie
Each Vertue of Humanitie
did in him Florish Whilst Here he
livd in Faith Hope & Chartie
Ending this Life in Godly Sort
Yielding to the World a Good Report

- I. An oblong stone, marked with a small cross.
- L. An oblong stone, crossed from the opposite corners.
- M. Part of an oblong stone, marked with a cross. This was found among the ruins, and placed upon the wall.

- N. Nearly the same as the last, but has been burnt.
- P. A large flat stone.
- Q. A hollow stone like the top of a font.
- R. At this place, in the original building, a stone marked COH, and seemingly part of a Roman altar, is built upside down.
- S. A stone, in all appearance, the shaft or support for the stone marked Q.
- a, b, c, d, e, f, g, are fragments of plain head-stones, or flags, set up to shew some places of interment, supposed to have taken place after the chapel had fallen.

I am, DEAR SIR,

Your's respectfully,

JOHN BELL.

XXXII.—An Account of a Roman Road in Northumberland, in a Letter from John Smart, Esq. of Trewhitt, to the Secretaries.

Trewhitt House, 23d Dec., 1826.

GENTLEMEN.

FAVOURABLE circumstances have enabled me to trace the line of a Roman road, which made a communication between the two branches of Watling Street that pass through Northumberland. It commences at Rochester, in Redesdale (the Bremenium of Antoninus), it passes by the Dudlees, Braushaw, and Yardhope to Holystone, where St. Paulinus, as recorded by the "Venerable Bede," converted several thousand Pagans to Christianity, and baptised them on his journey to the "royal residence" of the Saxon monarch, king Edwin, at (Maelmin) Millfield, the palace at Ad Gebrin having gone to decay. At this place St. Paulinus continued for some time, converting his subjects and baptizing them in the river Glen. The road then passes the river Coquet, near to the viljage of Sharperton, a little to the eastward of which, on an eminence called Chester-hill, is an encampment, nearly square, occupying about two acres, and equidistant between the two branches. It then passes through the grounds of the villages of Burradon and the Trewhitts. When taken up, in front of my house, I measured the breadth at fourteen feet. After passing through some fields at Lorbottle, it has been carried along the "Street Way," in Mr. Clavering's estate at Callaley. Immediately near is a high conical hill, with a triple circular entrenchment; the smallest circle is cut out of the solid rock, to the depth of eight or ten feet in some places; but as it is destitute of water, it can only have been a place of refuge to the inhabitants on any sudden invasion of the enemy. It is probably a work of the Britons.

then passes through a part of Lord Ravensworth's estate to Barton, and it joins the eastern branch of Watling-street before it crosses the river Alne, to the north of which is Crawley Tower, built upon the east angle of a Roman station, on an eminence near the road which I consider to be the "Alauna Amnis" of Richard of Cirencester. is great probability of the road being continued from Barton by Alnwick down to the port of Alnmouth, as during the period of the lower empire, great quantities of grain were shipped from Britain, to supply the Roman armies and garrisons on the Rhine. Having had an opportunity of seeing some improvements at West Glanton, in a field called Deer-street, where men were employed in taking up a part of an old road, with about six inches of soil upon it, consisting of large flat stones laid horizontally, on the outside twelve feet wide, it appears that a branch had been made from the former road, crossed the Alne west of Whittingham church, passed through Deer-street to the Breamish bridges, where it joined the Roman road.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant, JOHN SMART. XXXIII.—An Account of certain Articles taken from the Graves of the ancient Peruvians, in the neighbourhood of Arica, on the West Coast of South America, in a Letter from Joseph H. Fryer, Esq. to John Adamson, Esq., Sec. See Plate VIII.

Newcastle, 5th January, 1829.

DEAR SIR.

The things I send you with this were taken from the graves of the ancient Peruvians, in the neighbourhood of Arica, a small village on the West Coast of South America; if you think they will be acceptable to the members of the Antiquarian Society, you may present them at the next meeting, with the following short notice of the manner in which they were found, and what I consider to have been their uses.

The country about Arica, although now a barren desert of sand and salt, must, I should suppose, formerly have been extremely populous, from the astonishing extent of burial grounds which surround the town, the graves being as close as in the church-yard of a populous town in England, and have been almost all explored by the Spaniards, in search of treasure, it having been the custom of the Peruvians, of the higher classes, to bury at least a portion of their most valuable effects with the dead.

I was desirous of seeing a grave that had not been disturbed, but as there did not appear to be any chance of finding one in the immediate vicinity of Arica, I went along the coast about a mile and a half to the southward, where I had seen similar graves not so generally explored. This place appears to have been a fishing village, and there is no doubt has not been used as a burial place since the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards, they must, therefore, be the sepulchres of people who

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THE VARIOUS

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existed at least three centuries ago. They extend for a mile along the coast, and after very few trials, I was so fortunate as to fall in with a tumulus, consisting entirely of graves in three courses, one above the other. The space occupied by these graves did not exceed a cube of two feet square, being formed either of pieces of wood, apparently the masts and paddles of their boats, or of thin pieces of sandstone. The bottom was invariably covered with a considerable quantity of shell fish, placed there, I have no doubt, from religious motives, either for food for the person interred, or to serve for bait to his fishing hooks, which occur in every grave. A straw mat was placed upon this bed of shells, on which the body was found.

The body was in a sitting posture, the knees bent up close to the sides, the hands crossed over the breast; in this position it was envelloped in a woollen cloth, which, in its manufacture, resembled an extremely coarse crape, over this the Poncho was put, wrapped round the whole and tightly sewed, and covered by a neat net-work of well-made cordage, with large meshes. The head was envelloped in the same crape-like cloth, with a closely woven cap, or surrounded by a wreath of feathers. The bodies were in a perfect state of preservation, dry, hard, and brown, like an Egyptian mummy, but soon mouldered away upon exposure to the air. I do not suppose that any means had been used to preserve them, their state being entirely attributable to the perfect dryness of the atmosphere, and the sand and salt in which they are deposited.

On the breast, underneath the Poncho, was a small bag, containing coco, the leaf of a plant very much used by the Peruvians for chewing, being mixed with wood ashes and lime, in the same manner as the beetel nut is used in the East Indies. In the joint of the elbow, on each side, was placed the small pottery vessels, No. 5, closed by the core of the maize (which is still generally used in the country instead of a cork), and which, I suppose, must have been filled with Chicha, the favourite drink of the Indians; it resembles beer, and is made from maize.

The other things were all upon the floor of the grave, the earthen vessels Nos. 6 and 7 on each side, and No. 8 in front; the latter evidently

intended for the purpose of cooking the provisions deposited with the body, being precisely similar to those at present used in the country; the other two for holding water and Indian corn in the ear. No. 1 a and b, is a model of a boat with its paddle, and is the more curious, as nothing resembling it is now found on the coast; indeed, the country being completely destitute of wood, precludes the possibility of their being made, the only vessel at present used being made of seal skins sewed together, and blown full of air, as well described by Captain Hall. With the boat I also found the model of the harpoon, No. 2 a and 2 b, having a point of chalcedony, or quartz, with a number of spare pieces adapted to the same shaft, frequently tastefully disposed in the basket-work, No. 3.

The basket, No. 9, contained fishing lines with copper hooks, and a fishing spear, also with a copper point, some neatly made cotton cordage, some stronger cordage made of seal skin, and a few small sticks which I do not know the use of.

One or two other baskets, Nos. 10 and 11, were also in every grave, one containing cacao, the other a few small roots like onions. A bag, similar to that I have mentioned, but larger, was full of ground maize. The small matting, No. 4, resembles what is now used by the Indians when travelling, to lie upon when the ground is damp.

The only difference in the graves was, that the females had in addition to the things already mentioned, a bag of cotton and a spindle, No. 12, with cotton on it, and thread partly spun. In one grave I found a Pan's pipe, made of reeds tied together by small thread, and having eight notes; the thread being decayed, it very soon fell to pieces.

Small tooth-combs were not uncommon, extremely neatly made of very thin pieces of wood, ingeniously tied together with fine cotton thread.

I did not, nor could I hear of any one, ever finding any thing made of iron, in any of the Peruvian graves.

It must be observed that almost all the utensils, vessels, weapons, &c. are models, and bear a striking resemblance to those used by the Indians of the interior.

Nos. 1 a and b, and 2 a and b, have been crossed with streaks of red upon the wood, as shewn by the lines of the plates. The various articles are given in the plate half the size of the originals.

I am, My DEAR SIR,

Your's most truly,

J. H. FRYER.

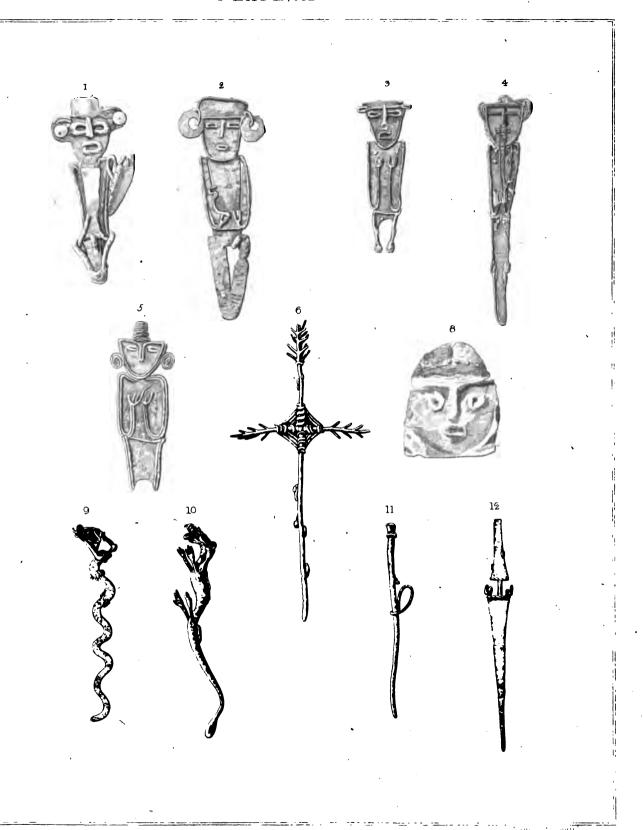
XXXIV.—An Account of some Golden Articles brought from South America by Mr. Charles Empson, and laid before the Society on the 6th February, 1828, with Remarks thereon. See Plates IX. and X.

Mr. Empson having communicated with Mr. Adamson, as to the exhibition of these curious articles, he was requested to furnish such an account as to their discovery, &c. as his information might enable him to give the Society, which he was pleased to do in a letter to Mr. Adamson, from which the following is an extract.

It may be as well here to state, that the engravings represent the articles of their proper size, and that their weights are as under.

oz.	d₩t.	gr.	Ox.	d₩i.	gr.
No. 10	16	Ĭ7	No. 72	2	0
No. 20	3	19	No. 80	0	19
No. 30	l	18	No. 90	2	15
No. 40	2	4	No. 100	2	14
No. 50	5	4	No. 110		
No. 60	3	2	No. 120	1	0

"Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.—These Golden Figures were obtained at Bogota, in that part of South America which is called Colombia. I believe them to have been found in the Lake of Guataveta, into which it was said the Indians annually threw many images of gold and other valuables, to obtain the favour of the Gods which preside over the waters. There are many lakes which are known to have been sacred amongst the Aborigines, and in which golden figures have often been discovered. The lake of Guataveta was always believed to be the spot into which the Indians of Tequardama threw their treasures on the approach of the conquerors. Persons have been constantly diving for, and seeking by other means, these Indian remains; but as they were only valued as



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gold, and as the precious metals are always preferred in grains or ingots, it was common for the persons into whose hands they fell, to put them immediately into the crucible, so that it is impossible to say what may have been found. At present it is so difficult to meet with any curiosities of this nature, that I was upwards of three years in the country before I could obtain any, or even a sight of them. The gentleman, who procured these interesting objects for me, was intimately connected with the parties who caused the lake of Guataveta to be drained, doubtless with the expectation of meeting with treasures that would repay them for the outlay of many thousands of dollars. The speculation was ruinous to the projectors: they found some images and other articles of gold, a few amethysts and emeralds, but nothing of great value. The gems were from the mines of Muso, which is but a few days' journey from the Lake, and the gold is of the same quality as that which is still found in the alluvial depositions of the neighbourhood. Nothing occurred that was foreign to the country, or even to the immediate vicinity. There was no silver, nor indeed is there any evidence of this metal having been known in the country before the conquest. It is curious, however, that a stone, which was guarded by the Indians, and removed by them as they were driven from place to place by the Spaniards, and which was the first thing which the subjugated natives stipulated to retain, is a large mass of very rich grey silver ore.

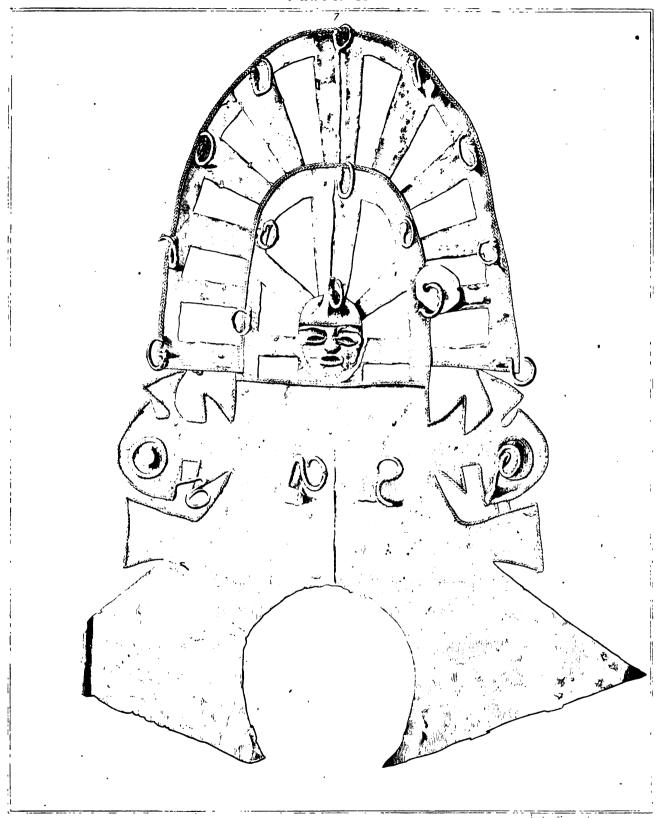
"No. 6.—I have been assured that this cross was found in one of those burial places, or sacred depositaries, called Guachas; it was obtained in Antioqua, a province remarkably rich in treasures which have been buried by the Indians. It was natural for me to doubt, that an emblem so sacred amongst Christians should have been an object of veneration amongst the Aborigines of South America. For some time I thought that, during the progress of the conquerors, some Christian might have been buried in one of the tombs which were used by the natives, and that this symbol of his faith had been deposited with the stranger; but upon comparing its workmanship with that of those ornaments worn by Cortes and his followers, it is impossible to ascribe to the European artizans of that period so rude a fabrication. I thought, also,

that this cross might have been made by some Christian soldier, from grains of gold which he could so easily and so abundantly obtain; for even to this day the Spanish soldiers are constantly fashioning ornaments of this nature out of pieces of iron, copper, or silver. But my doubts of its being a genuine relick, of a nearly exterminated race, are entirely removed; for I have seen a similar figure of a cross, sculptured upon a rock, with many other devices, and especially representations of the human form. This rock is believed to have been a place of worship anterior to the conquest, and may be seen near Talamaque, about ten miles from the great river Magdalena.

"That nations so totally unknown to each other should apparently revere the same emblem, and that emblem not having reference to any natural object, is a remarkable coincidence; but after all, the figure may be purely accidental, and its signification altogether at variance with the thing represented, as the cross stones occasionally found in the cromlech of antiquity, which, after Christianity was introduced into this country, served for sepulchral ornaments, or to place in those temples in which the new faith was promulgated.

"On reading Moore's tale of the Epicurean, I was struck with his assertion, that the cross was amongst the Egyptians the emblem of future life. His notes to illustrate this opinion are very curious.

"No. 7.—This ornament was found in that district of New Granada, which was inhabited by a race of Indians, called Guayaberros: the Spaniards found them the most obstinate of the indigenous tribes.—Their Cazique was a person of superior talent and uncommon bravery; after many perilous encounters, he was taken prisoner, but neither threats nor persuasions could prevail upon him to disclose the place in which he had concealed his treasures. At length, upon the prospect of immediate torture, he apparently consented to make known the hiding place of his vast wealth. The cave, in which it was secured, was in a situation to which he could not direct the Spaniards, but he offered to conduct them to the spot. Dreading the escape of so important a prisoner, six slaves were chained to the fetters of the fallen chief, but he refused to move until persons of consequence were substituted for the slaves; they were replaced by six of the most noble followers of the



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Spanish General. The Cazique led them to one of those frightful paths, of which there are so many in crossing the Andes, where a false step might lodge the traveller at the bottom of a chasm, which the noontide beams of a tropical sun have not the power of penetrating. From this path the Cazique threw himself with such a sudden and effectual plunge, that he dragged after him the six Spaniards to whom his chains were attached. It is said that the bodies were never found, but that shrieks issued from the gulph for several days: even yet the ravine is known by an Indian term, which signifies the "unburied dead." This story does not rest solely upon tradition; in the archives of a convent in Bogota, there is a curious and most interesting manuscript, written by one of the earliest missionaries, in which the history of this native prince and his exterminated race is most carefully narrated. To this MS. a very learned and ingenious Frenchman is permitted a free access, and as it tends to illustrate the manners and state of a people so little known, I trust that it will be given to the public. The author of this MS. describes the dress of this Cazique and all his family as having been per-"They all wore crowns made with plates of gold, and breast-pieces of the same precious metal," says this authority; but the descriptions are not sufficiently minute to enable me to judge whether this ornament was worn upon the head or some other part of the person.

"No. 8 resembles various figures which were found near Popayan, and which are now placed in the Museum at Bogota.

"Nos. 9, 10.—The locality in which these figures were found is unknown. They were procured at Mariquita, and it may be interesting to know, that in the neighbourhood of that city, there is a rock which, for about thirty feet high and two hundred feet wide, is elaborately covered with similar figures, and many others which approximate more nearly to the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The sculpture is apparently effected without tools of metal. The monument is situated in the Quebrado Seco, on the road from Honda to Mendez, and is still called "el Altar de los Antiguos."

"Nos. 11, 12, were found in a cave which formerly, it is thought, was a burial place. It is near the salt mines of Zipaquira."

XXXV.—Explanation of some of the South American Figures described by Mr. Empson, in a Letter from the Rev. G. S. Faber, to John Adamson, Esq. Sec.

Copies of the extract from Mr. Empson's letter having been sent to several gentlemen by Mr. Adamson, the letter, of which the following is copy, was received from Mr. Faber, and it is hoped that when the Society's Transaction's shall be circulated, other details respecting these interesting antiquities, aym be obtained.

Long Newton, Jan. 1, 1829.

SIR,

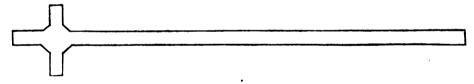
THE relics, of which you sent me the representations, are extremely curious: and from what little knowledge I possess of ancient mythology, I feel no doubt of their being genuine remains of the aboriginal Americans, wholly unconnected with their Spanish conquerors.

I. The veneration of the cross is no way peculiar to Christianity. Doubtless its veneration among the Pagans originated from causes altogether different from that which has produced its veneration among Christians; but still, in regard to the mere naked fact, its veneration has been common to both.

Among the Egyptians, both the complete cross + was revered, and likewise the imperfect cross, or the Taautic T. The complete cross seems to have referred to the four quarters of the heavens, so far as the theology of materialism was concerned; but, in another great branch of their theology, it had apparently yet another reference. It was, in fact, the Taautic T with a handle attached to it; whence, I believe, antiquaries style it the crux ansata . This modification shews, that the real position of the Taautic cross is not the T in its proper literal position, but the L

inverted. Taking the L inverted, the Egyptians added a handle, or fourth arm, and thus produced the perfect crux ansata. I much incline to think, on the principles of comparative mythology, that the L represented the sacred ship Argo or Argha, with Osiris or Siva standing upright in it, and supplying the place of a mast. When the handle was added \(\frac{1}{2}\), it served partly for the mere purpose of carriage after the manner of an ensign, and partly on the material system, to produce a four-armed cross, which should designate the four quarters of the universe.

Exactly the same figure was equally revered among the ancient Celts. This appears from the very curious interior of the artificial two-forked earth pyramid at New-Grange, in Ireland. When opened, it was found to contain, with an arrangement similar to that of the great Egyptian Pyramid, a narrow passage of considerable length, which led to a central chamber, containing a stone table and some stone pateræ. From this chamber branched out rectangularly three shorter arms; so that the whole exhibited the form of a cross, strikingly similar to the American cross, from the circumstance of the central chamber being octagonal.



A print and a description of it are given in Ledwich's Antiq. of Ireland, p. 316. No bones were found, so as to give any ground for imagining that the tumulus might have been reared over some Christian Irish chieftain. Indeed the form of the tumulus, with its two peaks, constructed on the strict principles of old mythologic paganism, which is substantially and ideally the same in every quarter of the globe forbids any such supposition.

II. The throwing of the consecrated images into a holy lake, perfectly accords with the mythology of the old world.

There was a sacred lake of the Moon in the south of France, into which the old Celts were accustomed to throw their votive offerings. I mention it somewhere in my Origin of Pagan Idolatry; but I cannot find the place, so as give you a precise reference for my authority.

A custom of yet closer affinity to that of the Americans prevailed among our old Teutonic ancestors. You will find it detailed in *Tacit.* de Mor. German, sec. 40.

In every part of the Pagan world, and no where more than in America, lakes were reckoned sacred: and there were frequently in them floating islands, most probably artificial; rafts, I suppose, covered with earth and turfed over. I have collected some information on this point in my Origin of Pagan Idolatry; particularly in vol. iii. p. 221—228. I subjoin some notices of American lakes, which more immediately connect themselves with your antiquities.

The sacred lake of the Peruvians was the great lake Titiaca; and they had a tradition, that, when all men were drowned by the deluge, Virachoca emerged from this holy pool, and became the father of a new race of mortals. They likewise shewed a small island in the lake, where they believed the sun to have once hid himself, and to have thus been preserved from a great danger which awaited him.—Purch. Pilgim. book ix. c. 9. 874. Precisely the same idea was attached to the Egyptian island Chemmis, in the lake near Buto, and to the sacred island Delos, in the Archipelago. The Americans had a temple to the endangered sun in their sacred island, just as the Greeks and Egyptians had in Delos and Chemmis. I need scarcely say, that the island, whether floating or fixed, represented the ship of the sun, or of that great hero-god, who was astronomically venerated as the genius of the sun.

I give you yet another American lake legend. A spirit, called Othon by the Iroquois, and Atahauta by the other barbarians at the mouth of the river St. Laurence, is thought to be the creator of the world; and they assign its reparation after the deluge to this same Otkon, under the new appellation of Messou. They say, that Messou, or Otkon, being a-hunting one day, his dogs lost themselves in a great lake; which

thereupon overflowing, covered the whole earth in a short time, and swallowed up the world. They add, that Messou, or Otkon, gathered a little earth together by the help of some animals, and used this earth to repair the world again.—Hennepin's Discov. of North America, p. 54.

The sacredness of some of the British lakes is sufficiently shewn by the very name. Thus, Loch Leven, denotes the Lake of the Moon. I have little doubt, according to what has come down to us of Celtic mythology, that the mysteries of Ceridwen, sidereally the Moon, terrestrially a ship swelling out, and bearing in her womb the great father Hu, or Beli, were anciently there celebrated.

I myself apply all these matters to the history of the deluge, engrafted upon mythologic astronomy, which I believe to be the foundation of Paganism all the world over. But, whether I am right or wrong in my opinion, the facts, upon which it is founded, remain, of course, unaltered.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant.

G. S. FABER.

Sometimes the T appears in the hands of the Egyptian gods in its simple form. The floating moon was the lunette , our modern life-boat. Place Siva, or Osiris in it: and you have the Taautic L.

The Egyptians give the floating moon of Osiris thus:

T.

Mount it on the handle and you have



XXXVI.—Some Account of the Bronze Statue of James II., supposed to have formerly stood on the Sandhill, Newcastle, in a Letter from Mr. John Bell, Librarian, to John Adamson, Esq., Sec.

30th December, 1826.

SIR,

The Society's collection of local prints has had a valuable addition made to it, of the print of the Equestrian Statue of James II., which is said to have formerly stood on the Sandhill, in this town. This print was advertised to be published by subscription in 1742, by Joseph Barber, music and copper-plate printer, in Humble's Buildings, afterwards of Amen-Corner, and appeared the latter part of that year, with two side accompaniments of the Armorial Bearings of the subscribers; which latter plates he afterwards cut to pieces, and sold each individual arms at two shillings and sixpence per hundred, as book plates. The print of the statue gives the following inscription:—

JAMES the II.

By the Grace of God

of Great Britain,

France, & Ireland,

King, Defender of the Faith.

Sir William Creagh, Knight,

Mayor.

Samuel Gill, Esq.,

Sheriff,

1685.

A copy of so much of this print as the statue itself, is engraved in Brand's *History* of the Town, and in a wood-cut, published by Mr. J. Sykes,* as follows:—



And also a smaller cut, as an embellishment to one of the numbers of the Catholic Magazine for 1826, each of these copying the foregoing inscription, which is evidently erroneous in the date. Sir William Creagh came to Newcastle early in 1684-5, and in the following year produced the King's sign manual letter, dated 17 March, 1685-6, to Sir

^{*} Mr. Sykes, has politely favoured the Society with the use of his Cut.

Henry Brabant, Knight, then Mayor of the town, to be admitted a free merchant of Newcastle, which was read to the Merchants' Company the 4th May, 1686,* and complied with; in July, next year, he produced another letter,† from James, for his further admittance into the Corporation, and on the 3d January, 1687–8, he was, by mandamus from James, elected Mayor of the town, and Samuel Gill his Sheriff; they only continuing in office until the 1st of October next ensuing, so that the date, 1685, mentioned on the print, and by Brand and other succeeding publications (who have noticed it) is wrong.

Bourne, in his *History* (page 126), says, "it cost the town £1700." This I do not find to be the case, for on referring to the Corporation account books,* in the Town's Hutch, the following items only are found respecting it:—

Apr. 14. 86.

April 1686 ve iiiith Week.

Pd. out of ye Revenue of this Town as p. ord of C.C. ye 12th of Apr. 86, for & toward ye Contract about his Maties Statue £300 as allso the sum of four Pounds ten Shillings & 10 pn return of c. I. s. p. ye said Moneys weh makes paid in all... iij iiij x November. 1687.

- " 126. 4 May, 1686, a letter from the King, signed James R., dated 17 March, 1685-6, directed to Sir Henry Brabant, Knt., Mayor, and Govr. of the Hostman's Co., and to Timothy Davison, Bsqr. Gov. of the Merchts. Co., was read, requiring them forthwith to admit Sir Will^m. Creagh, Knt., a free Hostman and free Mercht., and undersigned Sunderland, P.; and immediately after reading the letter, ye Co. in obedience to his Majesty's command, did admit Sir William Creagh, Knt., to his freedom of this fellowship."
- † "142. 19 July, 1687, Sir Wm. Creagh, Knt., presented a letter from the King, directed and signed, and undersigned nearly as the former, dated 31 May, 1687, reciting the letter of the 17 March, 1685-6; and also, that he had been admitted, but not in so ample manner as his Majesty intended therefore requiring his Freedoms to be recorded by order of the Common Council, and the Company of Hostmen and Merchts. so as he and his posterity may be enabled to take apprentices, and enjoy all other franchises which any Freeman of the Corporation enjoys, either by descent or servitude. In obedience to which it was ordered, that Sir Wm. Creagh shod be recorded an absolute free Brother, as Merchant Draper.—Vide Record Book of the Merchants' Company,
- N. B. Sir William Creagh's freedom, by order of the Common Council of the 23d 7br. 1689, was made void.
- * These were politely ordered for my inspection, by Archibald Reed Esq., when Mayor.

Novr. 26, 87.

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The fourth Week of Novr. 1687. C. L. s. D.

Paid as p order dated ye 23d of Novr
1687, out of ye Revenues of this

Town for ye Statue ye Sum of .......... ij — — —

July, 1688.

Pd fr a Sledge here for ye Statue ..... — xx —

Septembr ye 4th Week, 1688.

Pd Mr. Wm. Larson ye Statue in full ij lxvi v vijt
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Which makes the cost of it little more than £770, which appears to have been the total amount paid to the founder for casting the figure; there being no sum charged for erecting it, or for the pedestal (in marble of some size) on which it is represented to have stood, or for the iron palisades which are also represented to have surrounded it. inference I draw is, that the erecting of such a statue had been projected by the King, or those about him, and that Sir William Creagh, a personal friend of his Majesty's, was sent down to Newcastle to carry the scheme into effect, and was followed by sign manual letters, to introduce him still further into the company of the leading families, the more closely to watch over the political interests of his Majesty in that town; and on coming down he brought with him impressions of the plate alluded to, and in a short time procured an order for its erection;* but such a statute, I think, never was erected, for Bourne, page 126, in noticing the Sandhill says, "the effigies of King James II. which stood here, as I have been told," "for I never saw the statue itself, nor the picture of Sir Christopher Wren's certificate to the Common Council, in August, 1688,† and the payment for the sledge in July, 1688, shew that it had come to Newcastle in the middle of that year, when it would be landed on the Quay, where it might be lying, either owing to the political ferment which was agitating the country, or waiting its removal to the place of erection, through any of the narrow water gates

^{*} Brand, page 30, gives an extract from the Common Council Books, "March 16, 1685-6. A figure of his Majesty, in a Roman habit, on a capering horse, in copper, as big as the figure of his Majesty King Charles I. at Charing-crosse, on a Pedestal of black or white marble, to be set up for £800. sterling."

[†] August 27, 1688. Sir Christopher Wren's certificate was read, "that Mr. Larson had very sufficiently performed his work in casting the said Statue."

in the town's wall, which then stood parallel with the Quay, and where its contiguity to the river would easily suggest to the mob,* the idea of overturning it into the water. The supposition of the print being co-eval with the projecting of the statue, arises from examining the lettering of the inscription on the pedestal.

JAMES the II.

By the Grace of God

of Great Britain,

France, & Ireland,

King, Defender of the Faith.

Thus far it is in a bold style of engraving, and the remainder of the inscription, except the letter M in mayor, the S in sheriff, and 16 in the date (which are done by the same bold hand as the former) the writing is in a more modern style, evidently shewing that the inscription has been put on at twice, and by two different engravers.

Sir William Creagh, Knight, ayor. Samuel Gill, Esq., heriff, 85.

are in the same hand-writing as the five descriptive lines at the bottom of the plate, and must have been put on in 1742, when Barber published the print. It is quite evident that it had been engraved and printed in London, as there was no one in Newcastle who could do any such thing at that time; it is probable, that after the plate had been first done, it had been suffered to remain in the hands of the engraver, as plates often are, and his successors offered it to Mr. Barber, to publish as a speculation, as the price it was published at (5s.) would scarce have paid for engraving it.

JOHN BELL.

XXXVII.—Account of a Roman Inscription found at Old Penrith, in a Letter from Mr. Christopher Hodgson, to the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary.



SCALE HALF INCH TO A POOT.

My DEAR BROTHER,

THE Tomb-stone, of which the above is a drawing, was found on the morning of the 19th of September, 1828, at Old Penrith, about 200 yards north of the Roman Station, and on the east side of the turnpike road from Penrith to Carlisle, by some workmen employed in removing earth to fill up a deep hollow, a little still further north. It was lying, when found, with its face downwards. The workmen told me there VOL. II.

were several pieces of stones, with Roman characters on them, found near the same place; and a number of urns containing ashes. The full height of the stone is 7 feet, 3 inches, its breadth 2 feet, 11½ inches, its thickness 10½ inches. Its weight is about 1 ton, 8 cwt., which I fear is too great, on account of the expence of carriage, to allow of its being placed in the collection of the Newcastle Antiquarian Society. It is at present in the possession of Mr. Moss, of Penrith. I was the first person who came past the place after it was turned up; and immediately took the sketch which I now send you. The panel in which the figure is placed is sunk 2 inches, that for the inscription an inch and a half. The reading I understand is DIIS MANIBUS MARCI COCCEI NONNI, ANNORUM SEX, HIC SITUS EST, i. e., To the Gods of the Shade of Marcus Cocceis Nonnus, this was set up.

C. H.

Carlisle, October 12, 1828.

XXXVIII.—Account of a Golden Armlet found near Aspatria in the County of Cumberland, communicated by Henry Howard, Esq., of Corby, to the Secretaries.

Corby Castle, Carlisle, Sept. 27, 1828.

GENTLEMEN,

At the suggestion of Mr. Wm. Hamper, I take the liberty to send to you the copy of the drawing of an Armlet lately found near Aspatria, in this county, which Miss Carlyle has sent me to forward to your Society, to which I add the interpretation given by Mr. Hamper, which I conceive to be the truth. From Miss Carlyle's account it appears, that there are some slight traces of a letter or letters effaced, which coincides with Mr. Hamper's opinion.

I remain, Gentlemen,

With great respect,

Your obedient humble servant, HENRY HOWARD.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hamper to Mr. Howard.

"The Aspatria Torques or Armlet is a first-rate curiosity, for I do not recollect any previous relique of that kind bearing an inscription.

X+RIT GEROT Jeppoz i.e. FABRICAVIT.

I have full confidence that some other letters (at least a monagram) were inscribed upon it denoting the maker's name."

In a subsequent letter to Mr. Adamson, Mr. Hamper says, "that as the characters (if any) that are upon it only form a single word, which may be the same in several dialects of the northern rung, it may seem rather presumptuous to give a decided opinion about it." And, in another letter, he desires it to be stated that he did not see the Armlet itself, but only Miss Carlyle's drawing, because some antiquaries who have examined the original, doubt whether the characters are any thing more than accidental scratches.

The wood-cut is the size of the Armlet. Its weight is five ounces and a half. It is of very pure gold, and was found in the ditch of a hedge, near Aspatria, in 1828.



XXXIX.—An Account of some Letters of Eshton Hall, Yorkshire, relating to the Nunnery of St. Bartholomew, in Newcastle upon Tyne, communicated by W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., of Wallington, to John Adamson, Esq., Secretary.

Wallington, November 29, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,

In looking over a volume of Lord Dacre's Correspondence, from June 1st, 1523, to August 4th, 1524, which is preserved in the valuable library of Miss Currer, at Eshton Hall, in Yorkshire, I met with the originals of two Letters relating to the election of a Prioress in the Nunnery of St. Bartholomew's, Newcastle on Tyne, which are printed in Hearne's Chronicle of Otterbourne and Whethamstede, p. 576-580; and referred to in Brand's History of Newcastle, p. 228. They are No. 43 and 56 of the Correspondence. I found also copies of two Letters from Lord Dacre on the same subject, Nos. 42 and 53, of which I enclose you a transcript, thinking they may be interesting to the Members of the Antiquarian Society. I am not sure whether I am right in the name in the last line but five of No. 42.

In No. 261 of the same correspondence, a Letter from Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey, dated from Morpeth, April 25, 1524, is the following passage concerning the currency of "crossed pence."

"Also please it your grace forasmuche as crossed pens has not bene occurrant in thes north pties this many yeres past and that now the most part of all the money that your grace has sent downe for the payment of the Kings garnisons is in pens, your grace must send downe certein comissions aswell into this shire of Northumbrland, with Cumbrland and Westmand, as into the Beshoprick of Duresme, wherupon

proclamacions may be made that the Kings subjects may be compelled to take the same pens, and thos that doth refuse to take them to be punyshed accordingly," &c.

Was the Proclamation of 1525, regarding the silver money, mentioned by Ruding, vol. ii., 8vo. edit., p. 417, in consequence of this application?

W. C. TREVELYAN.

No. 42. Copie of a tre to thabbot of Fontans.

My Lord Abbot, in my best man I comend me to youe, and in the same wise thanke youe for all yo' kindnes shewed to me and to yo' furst filiall my lord Abbot of the monestarie of newmynstre, ascertayning youe that aftre the deth of Dame John Baxter, late Fores of the nunry of Sainct Bartilmew of Newcastell, yo' said furst filiall rode thide' and elect a new fores by the hole consent of all the convent of the house, called Dame Agnes Lawson, according as his pacessor Abbot Charlton did, like as apperith by the election of the same undre the convent seale of the said monestarye of newmynstre, notwistanding Doctor Clifton viccar generall to my Lord Cardinalls grace win his dioc of Duresme has com to the said nunrye and disanolled all that yo' said filiall has done, and dischargied the said foresse elect saing, that the jurisdiction therof apptenith to my said Lord Cardinalls grace in the right of his bushoprick of Duresme, and neith' to youe nor yo' said filiall, and incontynent aftre that the Bmisses com to my knowlege I maid laubor to git sight of som Becedents in the registre of Duresme touching the election of the said Bores, wherupon I saw dybse and many pedents where the said Bores has bene elect by the officers of the bushop of Duresme, emongest which I gat copies of two of the most principall which I send youe herin closed. to thintent that ye maye see the right that my said lords grace hath. My Lord yo' Lordship knoweth that all that yo' said filiall did was in yo' right, wherfore I deasire and prey youe that ye wol plainely and at good lienth advertise me or yo' said filiall what is yo' pleas' he shall do

in this matter, for as ye shall comand hym so shall he do, and if ye think that it be yo' right, good it is and also I geve youe my full counseill to stik at it, and if ye think that it woll goo against youe I prey youe eftsones that I maye be advised what ye think that yo said filial shall doo. for loth I were that he or his hous shuld be in combre, and furdermore I assure youe that ov and besids the copies which I send youe herin closed I have sene in dyvse placs of the said registre of Duresme where my Lord of Duresme Bdicessors have confermed infermed and cassat elections of the said nunry of Sainct Bertilmewes provided the Bores, and admyt resignacions at sevall tymes, and finally to thintent that the circumstaunce of all this matier may be manyfestly knowen (unto youe) I send youe at this tyme yo' discrete monk Dane Edward Tirrey, who is wise and of substancial conversacion, and has done muche good here, Praing youe that ye wol favorably here hym, and dispatche hym to me againe, w' yo' full mynde in the Bmisses, w' all convenient celeritie, in the which doing ye shall do me singler pleaf, and Jhu Bsve yo' Lordship. At Morpeth the x daye of Julij anno xv¹⁰ Henrici octavi.

No. 53. Copie of a tre to maister Clifton.

Maister Clifton, in my best man I recomend me unto youe, and the same wise thank youe for the good mynde ye bere to me, wherof I am advised by my singler good frend & fellow M. Magnus & specially for the good will ye bere unto elect priores of the nunry of this towne of Newcastell, I pceive well by the Regesters of the dioc of Duresme, the entreste that my Lords grace has the correction. Notwistandyng the countrye ellection which has bene used heretofore wherupon I have caused aswell thabbot of newmynstre to advertise thabbot of Fontains of the said entrest which my Lords grace has in the said election, and in semblable wise I have advised the said abbot my self, and as yet we have no worde frome hym, wherfore seing the f (said) tyme is so short I se not but it is best that ye reasorte hiddre, and according to my said Lords grace jurisdiction use yo' self in the said election, praing youe to be favorable unto the elect fores, for I trust vereyly that ye shall finde her most able to be hede of the house of any that is win it, and for yo' costs

and chargies, which ye shall susteigne herin I shall recompense youe, but for the costs and chargs whiche the pore house must bere, for the confirmation of the election, I se not but the said house shalbe enforced to make hard shift as ye shall further know. At yo' comyng and hartely fare ye well. At Newcastell the xxj daye of Julij A'. xv'. H. viij'i.

XL.—Abridgments, in English and Latin, of fifteen original Ancient Deeds respecting the Manor of Offerton, in the County of Durham, made and communicated by Mr. R. W. Hodoson, to John Adamson, Esq., Sec.

Whelpington Vicarage, February 2, 1829.

Sir,

My father having had a bundle of ancient deeds* respecting the manor of Offerton, in the county of Durham, lately put into his hands, has employed me in making the following English abstract and copy of them; and as they are curious on account of containing several particulars respecting the boundaries of that manor, a well and chapel dedicated to St. Cuthbert there, and how that property successively passed through the hands of the Basset, Denum, Thropton, and Coupland families, into that of Strother—which are either not noticed or imperfectly explained in the Histories of the county of Durham, he supposes they will be considered as valuable supplementary information to the labours of the highly distinguished Historians of that county; and, therefore, requests me to beg the favour of your communicating them to the next meeting of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle.

I have the honour to be,

SIR.

Your obedient Servant,

R. W. HODGSON.

* They were the property of Sir Charles Lorsine, of Kirkharle, Bart.; and the branch of the Strother family, who were proprietors here, ended in three coheirsses, Joen, the oldest of whom married Edward Lorsine, and had for her part of her father's estates Kirkharle, in Northumberland, and its appendages, and one third of the Manor of Offerton. Kirkharle, is a parish or manor, and still in the possession of the Lorsine family.—J. H., Sec.

1. Omit hanc cartam visur vel auditur Wills Basset miles dns de Vfferton sattm in dno sempitna. Nouitis me dedisse concessisse * hac Bsenti carta mea confirmasse Johi de Stayndrop dto le coronr totu illud messuag * toftū cū toto firmo * aliis rebz * catallis meis in dto tenemēto inuentis. Videliz ilid meš * tostū qd situaš int tra gondam Galfri del hille ex pte orient & capellam bi Cuthbti in Vfferton ex pte occid in latitudie * qd vocat le Calgarth cū omibz suis ptinētijs in Vfferton vna cū toto muro sicut includit ex q'cūq, pte cū libis ingssibz * exitibz ex q'cunq, pte đti tenemēti p voluntate đti Johis * heredū suon ftis vel faciendis. Videlz a cõi strata ex pte austrat vso, in fonte sci Cuthbti in ead villa ex pte boreat in longitudie vnacū vna placia vasti adiacente dto tenemēto ex pte australi que continet in se septies viginti & q'ndecī pedes in longit * triginta * q'tuor pedes in latitud . dedi etia * concessi eid Johi dto le coronr hered * assignatis suis duas bouatas terre cu ptinetijs in ead villa de Vfferton de dnico meo integiliter cu tota vestia in dtis duaba bouat terre crescente quay una bouata terre sint in manu Pet filii Thome de Ufferton ex dimissiõe Willi de Bidik q' dtam bouat terre de me tenuit ad rminū annou & dna ei9d ville alram bouatam terre tenuit de dto Willo de Bidik ad iminū annou & que due bouate terre continēt in se viginti q'tuor ac's terre sicut jacent in campo de Vfferton suis pcell p siliones.

^{1.} Sir Wm. Basset, knight, by deed, without date, granted to John de Stayndrop, called The Coroner, all that messuage and toft, with the whole farm, and all his other goods and chattels found upon the premises:-viz., that messuage and toft called the Calgarth, and lying between the land late belonging to Geoffry del Hille, on the east, and the chapel of the blessed Cuthbert, in Ufferton, on the west, with all its appurtenances in Ufferton, together with the wall around it, and free ingress and outgress wherever he or his heirs might please: --viz., from the common street, on the south, as far as the well of St. Cuthbert, on the north, together with a waste place adjoining the said tenement on the south, and measuring one hundred and fifty feet in length, and thirty-four in breadth. He also granted to the said John, his heirs, and assigns, two bovates of land, with their appurtenances in Ufferton, with all his demesne, and all the vesture growing upon the said two bovates of land, one of which was held by Peter, the son of Thomas, of Ufferton, by the demise of William de Bidick, who held it of Sir William Basset himself, the lady of the said ville holding of the same Bidick for a term of years the other bovate, each of which bovates contained 24 acres, and were parcelled out in ridges, in the common field of Ufferton, in the following manner:—viz. in the Calgarthflat, five selions and a half; in the Middleflat,

videtz in le Calgarthflat qnq, silioes & dimid. Itm in le Middelflat sex siliões. In le Westridding q'tuor siliões. In West strotheracris septē silioes & vnū heuedland. In Est strotheracris octo silioes. In le damflat q'tuor silioes. in le schortflat q'tuor siliones & dimid. In le kilnflat q'tuor siliones. In dedefurlang q'tuor sil & dimid. In le M'acris octo sil. In le Milnflat duodecī silioēs . * in le langeflat duodecī sit . Dedi etiā * ocessi eid Johi dto le coronr her * assig suis past'am in õibz meis sepalibz past'is in Vfferton ad q'tuor boues ad coicand & pascend vbiq vbi boues mei ibūt vel ire de iure debent. vidz in tota sepali past'a existēte in manu mea die confectois hui? carte cu libo introitu * exitu omi tempe anni nocte * die p volūtate dti Johis * her suo4 aut assignat, videlz ad coicand in sepalibz sos tas scilz in le Westmsk . In le Scrgges . In le Wythoch. In faulowley adiacente in Nedersden & Alibi undiq, ubi ego Witts her̃ € assig̃ mei cum bobz ñris cõicabim9 vt ibim9 ad pascenđ excepta în. Baxingdon & Cerncohoch . Hend & tenend dto Johi le coronr hered * assig suis omia dta tenemta, &c. Pretea ad hoc volo * ocedo p me her * assig meis qd idem Johes ke coronr her * assign sui liba heat nas. capones. anates. porcos. bidentes. vaccas. eq°s * omia alia aialia ≈ pecora p voluntate sua cū libo ingssu * egssu absq, omi impedimeto mei vel her meon sine assig. Et ad hoc volo & ocedo p me & her meis qd id Johes her * assig sui sint libì * qeti de secta curie * aforciameto * de secta molend * mult'a. sitit volo * ocedo qd id Johes her * assig sui heat libum ingssum * egsū õi tempe anni p sua liba voluntate ad õia pata teñ * terras colend repand * emendand . Et ego v° Wills Basset * her mei omia Bata, &c. Warantizabim9 &c. In cui9 &c. Hijs testibz Willo ano

six selions; in the Westridding, four selions; in Weststrotheracres, seven selions and one headland; in Eaststrotheracres, eight selions; in the Damflat, four selions; in the Shortflat, four selions and a half; in the Kilnflat, four selions; in Dedefurlang four selions and a half; in the Meracres, eight selions; in the Milnflat, twelve selions; and in the Langflat, twelve selions—the said grantor also giving to the said John, his heirs, and assigns, common of pasture, in all his separate pastures in Ufferton, for four oxen; viz. in the Westmersk, in the Scrogges, in le Wythock, in Fawlowley adjoining to Nedersden, and where the said William, his heirs and assigns, with their oxen, had common-right, or have gone to feed, except in Baxingdon and Cerncohoch.

- de hington. Rogo de Essche. Robto de Lambton Henr de Lomely. Witto de Wodesend. Rogo dno de Birdon. Stepho filio suo. Rico Pinchard de herington. Elia Scot. Galf r de Refhop ctico. Rogo de Essche juniore. Johe Pouncyn. Nicho filio Pel de Pencher & aliis.
- 2. Vnidsis ad quos psens sc'ptum pueñit Witts Basset miles sattm in dno. Nouitis me concessisse Johi de Denō qu omes tre « teñ cu ptinent in Ufferton que « q's Alicia filia Henr de hornbi « Petr? filius eiusdem Alicie tenent ad minu vite eoqdem Alicie « Petri . Et que post decessum eoqde Alicie « Petri mihi Witto Basset » heredibz meis reuti deberent . remaneant pato Johi heredibz « assig tis suis tenena de capitalibz anis feodi illius p suicia inde debita « consueta impr . Et ego &c.— Hijs testibz ano Robto de Hilton . Waltero de Wessington militibz. Johe de Bydyke . Rogo de Esche . Robto de Lambton . Robto fit Henr de Lumleý . Witto de Knicheleý « aliis.
- 3. Hec est finalis concordia facta in cur dni Dunelm Epi apud Dunelm. die Martis pxīa post festum Ephie dni anno regni dni Edwardi Regis Angt ttij a conquestu vicesimo quinto et regni sui Franc duodecimo et pont dni Thome Epi septimo coram Thoma Gray Thoma de Seton Rogs de Blaykeston & Petro de Richmund justic assign & aliis dti dni Epi fidelibz tunc ibi psentibz int Ricm de Scardeburgh capeltm quer & Johem de Thropton & Isabellam uxoem euis deforc de mario de Viferton cum ptiñ & vno mesuagio centū & sexdecim acris tre quinq, acris pti & quinq, acris bosci cum ptiñ in West-heryngton cum liba piscaria in aqua de Were in eadem vitta. Vnde ptitm conuencois fuit int eos ibi eadem cur scitt qd pdti Johes & Isabella recogn pdta maneriū &

^{2.} A deed poll without date, by which Sir William Basset granted to John de Denum, all his lands and tenements, with their appurtenances in Ufferton, which Alice, the daughter of Henry de Hornby, and Peter the son of the said Alice, held for the term of their lives.

^{3.} Fine of Ufferton, in the Bishop of Durham's court at Durham, in 25 Hen. 3, 1241, between Richard de Scardeburgh, plaintiff, and John de Thropton and his wife Isabella, deforceants, concerning the manor of Ufferton, one messuage, 116 acres of land, 5 acres of meadow, 5 acres of wood, with appurtenances in West-Herrington, and free fishing in the water of Were, by which it was agreed, that the premises should remain to the said John and Isabella for their lives, and after their death to John de Coupland and Joan his wife and the heirs of the said John, for which fine the said Thropton and Coupland and their wives, gave one soar hawk.

ten cu ptin esse ius ipius Rici vt illa que idem Ricus het de dono paton Johis & Isabelle. Et p hac recogn idem Ricus concessit adtis Johi & Isabelle Bota maneriu * ten cu ptin . Et illa eis reddidit in eadem cur. Hend ≈ tenend vidett βdim maneriū de capitalibz dnis feodi illius ≈ omia alia ten de dno Epo & successoribz suis p suicia que ad pata maneriu & ten ptinent tota vita ipou Johis & Isabelle. Et post decessum ipou Johis & Isabelle Batū maneriū & ten cū ptin integre remanebunt Johi de Coupland & Johanne uxi eius & hedibz ipius Johis. Tenend vidett Bdím maneriū de capit dnis feodi illius & alia ten de dno Epo & successoribz suis p suicia que ad sotta maneriū * ten ptinent imppîm . Prefea Bătus Ricus concessit p se * heredibz suis qu ipi warantizabunt Batis Johi de Thropton & Isabelle Bata maneriu & ten cum ptin sicut Batm est tota vita ipou Johis de Thropton & Isabelle et etiam post decessum eordem Johis & Isabelle Batis Johi de Coupland & Johanne & nediba ipius Johis cont' omes hoies i petm. Et p hac recogn concessione redditone warantia fine & concordia Bati Johes, Isabella Johes & Johanna dederunt Botto Rico vnū espuariū sorum. Et hec concordia quo ad pata ten in Westherington facta fuit p pceptu ipius ani Epi .--

4. Hec est conuencio fca int dnu Henricum de Guldeford cticum dni Regis ex vna parte & Johem de Denum ex alta. videlicet. qd dtus dns Henricus concessit & ad firmam dimisit dto Johi maneriu suu de Vfferton in Epatu Dunelm vt in edificiis, gardinis, boscis p'tis tis pasturis & omibz aliis pficuis dto manio quoquomodo infra villam de Vfferton vel extra sp'tantibz illud scil; quod dtus dns Henric? huit ex dono & concessione dni With Basset. Habend & tenend dto Johi & heredibz suis vel suis assignatis vsq, ad tminu dece annoq pxo sequentiu plenar completoq tmino incipiente in festo sci Michis Archangti anno dni. M°ccc° septimo de pdto dno Henr & heredibz suis p suic vni? rose in festo Nativit sci Johis Bapte p omibz secularibz suiciis & demandis dto dno Henr vel heredibz suis sp'tantibz. Et faciend p pdto dno Henrico capitalibz dnis feodi suicia inde debita & consueta. Hijs testibz dno Henrico de

^{4.} An agreement dated at London, in 1307, between Sir Henry de Guldeford, clerk to the King, and John de Denum, by which the said Henry demised for the term of 10 years, to the said John, the manor of Ufferton, which the said Henry had obtained by a grant from Sir Wm. Basset.

Scrop . Witimo de Herle . Galfro de Scrop . Johi de Dudden . Johe Galum & aliis . Dat London in festo sci michis archangti anno sup dto.

5. Ista indentura testa qd cum Johes de Denum recupasset seysinam suam p bre noue disseys versus dns Witts Basset milit de vno mesuag. Centū ac's tre. duodecim acris bosci. Trecentis acris more & pasture in Vffurton cora Lambto de Trikyngham * sociis suis die venis px post festū sči Georgii martyr anno dni millo trecentessimo decimo et consecracõis dni Antonij di gra tūc epi dunelm vicesimo septimo. Conuenit int dtos Willm & Johem qd id Johes no sequet executõem judicij Bdči noue disseysine ante die Lune pxm post festu sci Jacobi apti px sequent post diem confectiois Bsentiu. Ad que die si dtus dns Wills hedes vi attornati sui venint in monastio Dunolm ≈ soluerint dto Johi hedibz vi ctis attornatis suis. Centū et decem marcas argenti bone & legalis monete dtus Johes no exequet' n° faciet execucioem judicii. immo remittet & quietū clamabit dto dno Wifto & hedibz suis totu Jus & clameum qd habet vi habere potest. p se & hed suis in Bdtis tris * tenemētis * sc'pta que ht de dno Henr de Guldeford eid dno Willo x hedibz suis cū q'eta clamacoe totius juris quod habuit in dtis tenemetis sursum reddet. Et si cotingat qd dtus dns Wills hered vi attornati sui ad Bdim temp? dto Johi hed vi assignai suis. Ut Bdtum est de dtis centū * decem marcis no satisfecint. Ide dns Wills vult * cocedit qd dtus Johes heat dta ten scd for m recupaçõis bête. Hoc tamen obseruato: Quod si dtus Wills hedes vi attornati sui soluerint dto Johi heredibz & assignatis suis q'traginta & duas lib's argenti in monastio Dunotm in festo sci michaelis archangti Anno dni mitto trecentessimo vicesimo. Id Johes hered & assignati sui reddent libabūt dto dno Willo & hedibz suis dta tenemta tenenda imppeim. Sin autē! dta tenemta dto Johi & hedibz suis remanebūt imppm. Pretea dts Wills faciet dto Johi talem statū de pto qd Petrus de Marisco Vsus eund Willm recupauit vi de redditū sexaginta solidou inde puenient qualem habebit de tenemtis antedictis In

^{5.} Indenture dated at Durham in 1310, showing that John de Denum having recovered possession, by writ of novel disseisin against Sir William Basset, knight, of one messuage, 100 acres of land, 12 acres of wood, and 300 acres of moor and pasture in Ufferton; the parties now enter into certain covenants which confer on Denum his heirs and assigns exclusive possession of the premises.

cui? rei testimoniū ptibz istius indenture sigilla pim alinatim sūt apposita. Dai dunolm die venis px post festū sci Georgii martyr Anno dni millo trecentesimo decimo.

6. Pateat uniusis p psentes que ego Witts Basset remisi & quietū clamaui Johi de Denū totū jus & clam que hui in omibus tris pratis boscis moris pasturis in Vffurton contentis infra diuisas subscriptas videlicz incipiendo de aqua de Were & sic ascendendo p rectas diuisas interam de Vffurton & tram Witti de Kukenni de Melburnley usq, summitatē de Grimeshop, & de Grimeshop p linialem supficiem pasture que vocatur le Mersk usq, capellam de Vffurton, & de capella inter supiorem partē culture que vocat le Schortflat & culturam que vocatur kilnflat vsq. Aldewell & sic usq, supiorē ptem pasture & p supiorem ptem pasture sicut pastura se iunxit tre arabili usq, in Edresden & p Edresden usq, ad aquā de Were, & sic p aquā de Were ascendendo usq, ad langschauden, & Melburnley, habend & tenend predto Johi & hedibz suis in suo seperali omi tempe anni cum suis ptinencijs de capitali dno feodi p seruicia inde debita & consueta. Et ego Witts & hedes mei omia pata tenementa cum ptinen-

cijs pato Johi hedibz & assignatis cont omes homines Warantizabimus & defendemus imppetuu. In cuius rei testimoniu psentibz sigillu meu apposui. Hijs testibus. In Walto de Wessington. Johe de Bydik. Rogo de Esse seniore. Rogo de Esse juniore. Rico de Sanndoun & aliis. Dat apud Vffurton die lune pxia post festu sci Petri ad vincula, Anno regni Regis Edward fit regis Edward sexto.

^{6.} A deed poll, dated 1312, by which William Basset released to John de Denum, all the right and claim which he had in his lands in Ufferton, by boundaries hereunder written, viz., beginning at the water of Wear, and so ascending by the right bounds between the land of William de Kukenni, from Melburnley, to the summit of Grimeshope, and from thence in a line with the outside of the pasture, which is called the Mersk, to the chapel of Ufferton, and from the chapel between the upper part of the culture which is called the Shortflat, and to the culture which is called the Kilnflat, to Aldwell, and so to the upper part of the pasture, and by the upper part of the pasture where the pasture joins itself with the arable land unto Edresden, and by Edresden to the water of Wear, and so ascending by the water of Wear to Langshawden and Melburnley.

- 7. Pateat vniuersis p psentes que ego Withus Basset remisi & quietum clamaui Johi de Denum totum jus & clam que hui uel habere potui in manio de Vfferton cum ptin. Hnd & tenend dto Johi heredibz & assignatis suis. Ita q nec ego pdis Wiffms. heredes mei nec aliquis nomie nor aliquod ius uel clam in pdto manerio exigere poterimus imppetuum. Et ego do Wiffms & her. &c. Warantizabim? & defendemus imppetuum. In cui? rei testimonium presenti scipto sigillum meum apposui. Dat dunolm die mart px an fm Epiphan dni. Anno regni regis Edwardi fit regis Edwardi decimo. Hijs testibus. Dno Walto de Wessington. Johe de Bydik. Rogo do Essch. Simōe fre eius. Helia Scot & aliis.
- 8. Omnibz ad quos Bsens scriptū puenerit. Cristiana que fuit ux Henrici procuratoris de Medilton. Saltm in dno Notitis me in pura viduitate mea remississe relaxasse & omnino de me & heredibz meis quietū clamasse. Johi de Thropton & Isabella uxi eius & heredibz ipius Isabelle . totū jus ≆ clameū . que . habui habeo . seu quouismodo . habere poto in manerio de Viferton. * omibz tris * tenementis. redditibz. possessionibz. cū suis ptinentijs que & quas. ego. Pdta Cristiana. * Bati . Johes * Isabella habuim? . de dono * concessione . With fit Robti de Denū. in Botto manerio de Vfferton & Wodhall in Westherington & Melburnley . Et etia in reuersione oim tranz & tenementon ibide de Bfato Willo tento q ibide ad iminu vite vel anno q vel in dote Ac etiam seruiciis libero 1 tenementor u. ibide . Ita videliz qd nec . ego . Batta Christiana . nec heredes mei nec aliquis . alius . noie nro in Batto manerio. Iris tenementis. redditibz. possessionibz. reuersioue * seruicijs aliquid . exigere vel vendicare potim⁹ in futurū . Sed ab omi accione juris & cuiuscumq, clamei . inde sim? . exclusi . imppetuū . Preterea &c. Hijs testibz. Witto de Faudon. Henrico de Faudon. Henrico de

^{7.} Release of William Basset to John de Denum of all right which he had in his manor of Ufferton, dated at Durham, in 1317.

^{8.} Release dated at Midelton, near Denum, 1340, by which Christian, the widow of Henry Proctor, of Midelton, quit claimed to John de Thropton and Isabella his wife, and to the heirs of the said Isabella, all right which she had in the manor of Ufferton, which right the said Christian, John, and Isabella acquired by a grant of William, the son of Robert de Denum, in the said manor of Offerton and Wodhall, in West-herrington and Melburnley.

Medilton. Thoma Gray. Johe de Herll ≈ alijs Dat apud Midilton iuxta Denū. die. dinca pxa post festū sci Hillar. Anno dni Mocce quadragesimo.

9. Hec indentura fca apud Ufferton in Withm fit Robti de Denū ex pte vna & Johem de Thropton & Isabellam vxorē eius ex pte al'a testat' qđ cũ Bdtus Willus fit Robti feoffauerit Cristiana que fuit uxor Henrici le procurator de Medilton & Bottos Johem & Isabella de mario de Vfferton . le Wodhall & Melburnley cū ptiñ in Westherington simul cū redsionibz omniū tran * tenementon apud Vfferton * Westheryngton ad tminū vite vel annou vel in dotem de pato Willo tunc tentou. Tenena Pfatis Christiane Johi & Isabelle & hedibz ipius Christiane de capitalibz dnis feodi illius p suicia que ad tenementa illa ptinent imppetuu. Reddend inde annuatim Bfato Willo & heredibz suis quadraginta libras argenti ad duos anni iminos ad festa Pentecosi & sci Martini in hyeme p equales porcoes. Ita qd si pdtus redditus quadraginta libra 4 ad alique tminū p quadraginta dies in pte vel in toto aretro fuere extunc bene liceret Bfato Willo & hedibz suis in omibz tris & tenementis Batis intrare r sibi imppetuu retinere! Postea Bfata Christiana remisit relaxauit relaxauit omnino de se heredibz suis imppetuu quietu clamauit Pfatis Johi & Isabelle & heredibz ipius Isabelle totum ius & clameu que huit seu aliquo modo habere potuit in omibz fris & tenementis & redsionibz Batis. Sup que patus Witts vult & concedit p se & heredibz suis qa si idem Witts p'usq'm p pfatos Johem & Isabella de omiba fris tenementis & reusioniba

^{9.} A deed, executed by way of Indenture, and dated at Ufferton, 1341, between William the son of Robert de Denum, and John de Thropton, and Isabella his wife, shows that the said William having enfeofed Christian the widow of Henry the proctor of Middleton, and the said John and Isabella, in the manor of Ufferton, the Wodhall, and Melburnley, with their appurtenances in Westherrington, together with the reversion of all the lands and tenements at Ufferton and Westherrington, for the term of life, or of years, or in dower then held of the said William, to hold by the said Christian, John, and Isabella, and the heirs of Christian herself, of the chief lord by the annual rent of 401 of silver: and the said Christian having afterwards released to the said John and Isabella, and the heirs of Isabella, all her right in the premises.—Now, by this Indenture, the said William grants, that if he should die without issue, the said rent of 401 should be annulled, and the reversion of all the said lands, &c. should belong to the said John and Isabella, and should be wholly exonerated from the said rent.

pdictis refeoffet' tenend sibi & hedibz de corpore suo legitime pcatis obierit tunc pdtus reddit? quadraginta libra p nullo heat' sed penit? adnullet'. Et etiam si pdti Johes & Isabella pfatū Withm de ombz tris & tenementis pdtis simul cū redsionibz feoffent competant tenend sibi & hedibz de corpore suo legitime pcreatis. Vult idem Withs & concedit p se & heredibz suis qd si ipe Withs sine herede de corpore suo legitime pcreatis obierit tunc omia pdta tre & tenementa & redsiones pfatis Johi & Isabelle & hedibz ipius Isabelle integre redtant'. Et qd omia pdta tre & tenementa & redsiones de pdto redditu quadraginta libra p vsus quoscuq, heredes ipius With sint quieta & de pdto redditu quadraginta libra p exhoneret' imppetuu. In cuius &c. Hijs testibz Johe de Menevytt tunc vic Dunelm. Simone de Essh. Walto de Ludeworth. Johe Harpyn. Giltto fit Thome de Holum. Ricardo Mirison de Heryngton. Johe Cogur & alijs. Dat apud Viferton die sabati in vigilia sce Trinitatis anno dni M° ccc. quadragesimo pmo.

10.—Pita de jur & assis capt apud Dunelm cora Ricardo de Aldburgh Rogo de Essh Thoma de Fencotes & Rogo de Blaykeston justiciarijs dni Epi assignat apud Dunelm die Martis in Septimana Pasche anno Regni Reg Edwardi ttij a conquestu decimo octauo. Regni vero sui Franc quinto. Et pont dni Ricardi de Bury Dunelm Epi duodecimo. Thomas de Ebor & Agnes ux eius petunt vsus Johem de Thropton & Isabella uxem eius & Willm fit Johis de Thropton vnū mesuagiū & decem acras tre cū ptiñ in Vsserton vt ius & hereditarie ipius Agnetis et in que ijdem Johes Isabella & Willus non habent ingrm nisi post disseīam qua Thomas de herington. chiualer inde iniuiste & sine iudicio fecit Johi Marrays patri pate Agnetis cui? heres ipa est post &c.—Et vnde idem Thomas & Agnes dicunt qa patus Johes Marrays pater pati Agnetis cui? heres ipa est sint seisitus de patis tenementis cū

^{10.} In a suit at the Assizes at Durham, Easter Term, 18 Edward III., 1345, Thomas, of York, and Agnes his wife, daughter and heir of John Marrays, plaintiffs, against John de Thropton and Isabella his wife, and William, son of John de Thropton, respecting a messuage and ten acres of land in Ufferton—when the defendants shewed that the said Agnes, before her marriage, released to them all right in the premises with warrantry, &c.; on which the court adjudged the plaintiffs to be in misricordia pro falso clamore.

ptiñ in đinco suo ut de feodo * jure tempe pacis tempe dni Antonij quonda Epi Dunelm Bdecessoris dni Epi nunc capiendo inde explet ad valent &c. Et de ipo Johe descendit jus &c. isti Agneti vt filie & heredi que nunc petit simul &c. Et in que &c. Et inde pducunt sectă &c. Et Johes Isabella & Willus veñ. Et defendunt ius suū &c. Et Withus dicit que ipe nihil habet in patis ten ad psens &c. Et Jones & Isabella dicunt que ipi sunt tenentes de patis tenementis. Et dicunt que Botta Agnes p nomen Agnetis filie & heredis Johis Marrays du sola fuit p scriptū suū remisit relaxauit & omnino p se & heredibz suis imppetuu quietu clamauit patis Johi de Thropton & Isabelle & heredibz ipius Isabelle. totū jus & clameū que habuit habet seu quoquomodo habere potit in futuru in vno mesuagio & decem acris tre cu ptin in Vfferton quequeda tenementa sunt eadem tenementa nunc petita. Ita qd nec ipa nec heredes sui nec aliquis noie suo aliquod jus vel clameu in patis tenementis extunc exigere vel vendicare poterunt set ab omi accione juris p patū scriptū exclusi essent imppetuū. Et obligauit se & heredes suos ad War. Batis Johi & Isabelle & heredibz ipius Isabelle. Et pfert hic in cur Baim scriptu sub noie Bate Agnetis quod hoc testat' et petiuit judiciū si bati Thomas & Agnes cont fcm ipius Agnetis accione habere debeant &c. Et pati Thomas & Agnes non possunt dedicere quin patim scriptū sit factū pate Agnetis du sola fuit. Ideo considerat' est qa pati Johes z Isabella eant inde sine die et Bati Thomas & Agnes nich capiant p bre suū set sint in mia p falso clamor æc.

11. Omibz sc'ptum visur vi auditur Hugo filius Willi Basset militis sattm in dno. Nouitis me remisisse Willo filio Robti de Denum p se & heredibz suis & suis assignatis totum ius & clameu qd hui vi aliquo modo habere potui in omibz illis tris & tenementis simul cu reusionibz eoqdm n'non boscis redditibz suiciis liboq bondis bondagiis cu eoq sequelis &

^{11.} Release by Hugh, son of Sir William Basset, knt. to William, son of Robert de Denum, of all right which he had in the land, tenements, reversions, woods, &c. in Ufferton and Pencher, which at one time belonged to the said Sir William Basset, his father, and which the said William de Denum had, and ought to have, by hereditary descent, after the death of his brother John de Denum. No date, but Sir Thomas Surtays was seneschall to the Bishop of Durham in 1356.

catallis suis omibz ac vniusis ptinentijs que fuerunt aliquo tempe dti Willi Basset pat's mei in Vfferton & in Pencher quas quidem tras & tenementa boscos redditus & suicia libo2, idem Wills habet & habere debet p decensum heditariu post morte Johis de Denum fratris sui in Vfferton * in Pencher. Ita qu' n' ego Hugo Basset ppis n' nedes mei &c. aliquod jus in predictis tenementis, &c. deceto exige vi vendicare possim⁹ infutur. Et ego Hugo patus & hedes mei oms tras & tenementa Bata &c. Warantizabim, imppetuu. Et sciend est od si aliqui redditus vi seruicia, aliquou libou hominu, qui de dto Willo Basset patre meo tenebant' in Vsferton p eo qd dto Johni de Denu, no attornauerunt vi ppt aliqua aliam cam aliquo modo aretro sint : omes redditus a suicia libou his simt cu bondis bondagiis & eou sequelis Bato With fit Robti de Denum, p se * hedibz suis et assignatis, p Bsens scrptum do, concedo, æ confirmo. Ita qd ipe Wills de Denum, hedes sui, æ sui assignati in bosco de Pencher & in manio de Vfferton cu omibz suis ptinent. simul cū redsione tray & tenementoy que Alicia de Horneby & Petrus filius eius tenent ad iminu vite sue in Vfferton plenu dominiu habeant. sine aliquo retenemento. In cui rei &c. sigillū meū &c. Hijs testihz, Dño Thoma Surtays tunc senescall Dunolm, Willo de Walleworth vicecomite, Johe Darcy, Stephno de Birdon, Symone de Esche ≆ aliis.

12. Omibz hoc sc'ptū visur vel auditur Johes de Coupland & Joha ux eius sattm in dno Nouitis nos concessisse & ad firmam demississe Pat'cio Charts & Alicie ux'i eius maniū nrm de Vffertom ac omia alia tras & tenementa cū suis ptiñ que habuim? de dono & feoffamento Johis de Thropton infra Episcopatū Dunelm hend & tenend pdtū maniū &c. p centū annos px sequent pdtis Pat'icio & Alicie & hedibz legitime pcrear Reddendo nobis & hedibz mei pdti Johis annuatim vnū denar argenti ad festū natalis dni si petat' Et nos vero pdti Johnes & Johna & hedes mei pdm maniū. Warantizabim? . In cui? rei &c. Dar apud Vfferton die sabati px post festum sci Jacobi apli anno regni regis Edwardi ttij post conquestū Angt tricesimo primo.

^{12.} A Deed poll by which John de Coupland and Joan his wife demised to Patrick Charters, and Alice his wife, their manor of Ufferton, and all other lands, &c. which they had, by the gift of John de Thropton, within the Bishoprick of Durham, for 100 years, by the yearly rent of one silver penny if demanded, dated at Ufferton, 1357.

13. Pateat vniusis p psentes que ego Alicia quonda ux Patrcij Charts remisi relaxaui & omino p me & nedibz meis imppetuu qiuetu clamaui Johi de Coupland & Johe ux'i eius & nedibz & assignatis ipius Johnis! totum ius & clameu que vnq'm nui, neo seu quouismodo nre poto in futurum in manio de Viferton cum ptin ac in omibz tris & ten cu ptin vocat la Wodhall in Westherington. Ita que nec ego &c. Dat apud Newh'm die dnica px post festum confisionis sci Pauli anno dni Millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo scoo.

14. Omibz hoc scriptū visuris vel audituris Thomas de Midelton psona ecctie de Lyth saffm in dno. Cum Thomas de Hexham tenet mariiu de Vfferton infra libtate Dunolm cum omibz suis ptin de me * nedibz meis ud iminū vite Johanne que fuit ux Johis de Coupland. Reddend inde annuatim mihi & heredib; meis decem marcas ad festa Pentecost * sci Martini in veme p equales porcoes. Ita qd post decessum Bate Johanne Batm maniū cum omibz suis ptiñ mihi & heredibz meis integre reuterat. Nouitis me Batm Thoma de Middelton dedisse Alano del Strother heredibz & assigñ suis Bottm redditu decem marcan cum reusione dti manij . cum decederit vna cum suicijs tam libon tenentiū q²m natiuo2 cū pratis boscis * pasturis * omibz alijs ptiñ pato mariio quoquomodo spectantibz. H'end &c. Hijs testibz Robto de Wicliff ctico, Witto de Gascoyne, Witto de Crayk ctico. Rico de Middleton . Sampsone Hardyng & alijs . Dat London sextodecimo die Decembr anno regni Regis Edwardi tij post conquestu Angt quadragesimo quinto.

^{13.} Release by Alice, the widow of Patrick Charters, to John de Coupland and Joan his wife, of all right she ever had, or could in future have, in the manor of Ufferton, with its appurtenances, and in the lands called the Wodhall, in Westherrington, with their appurtenances, dated at Newham, 1362.

^{14.} Thomas de Hexham having had a lease of the manor of Ufferton granted to him for the term of the life of Joan, widow of John de Coupland, to hold of Thomas de Middleton, parson of the church of Lyth, at the yearly rent of ten marks, the said Thomas de Middleton, by deed poll, dated at London, 17th December, 1371, granted the said rent, and the reversion of the whole of the said manor to Alan del Strother, his heirs and assigns for ever.

15. Omibz hanc cartam indentatam visuris vel audituris Wills Strother fit & heres With Strother nup de Walyngton in com Northumbr armig sattm in dno sempitnam. Sciatis me dedisse concessisse * hac Bsenti carta mea indentata confirmasse Alexo Cok ctico vicar ecctie Noui Castri sup Tynam Witto hardyng armigo Johi Marton ctico Robto Morpath alias đto Robto Barker ctico & Henr Sele ctico mailiū & villam mea de Vfferton. cum ptiñ &c. que neo in pata villa de Ufferton & alibi infra com Dunelm. hend & tenend omia pata eisdem Alexo, &c. imppetuu. Et ego vero Bdtus Wills Strother fil Willi omia Bdta, &c. cont omes gentes Warantizabim9, &c. Et ad intrand p me & noie meo in pota assignaui * loco meo posui dittos mihi in xpo Johem Turpyn de Nouo Castro sup Tynam & Wittm Virly de Ufferton Pdta attornatos meos spciales. Hijs testibz Johe Midilton. Willo Swynburn militibz. Robto Raymes. Thoma Weltden. Rico Weltden. With Shafthowe. Johe Herle. ₹ multis alijs . Dat vicesimo quarto die Septembr anno regni regis Henrici sexto post conques Angi tricesimo primo.

^{15.} By indenture bearing date 24th September, 31 Henry VI., 1452, William, the son of William Strother, of Wallington, Esq. granted to Alexander Cok, clerk, vicar of Newcastle upon Tyne, William Hardynge, Esq. and others, the manor of Ufferton, and all his other lands in the county of Durham, to hold of the chief lord of the fee with waranty, and making John Turpyn, of Newcastle, and William Virly, of Ufferton, his attorneys to give possession.

XLI.—Papers relative to the Murder of Lord Francis Russell, at Hexpethgatehead, on the Middle Marches, between England and Scotland, communicated by Captain Samuel E. Cook, R. N., and accompanied by an explanatory Letter from the Rev. John Hodgson, Sec., to John Adamson, Esq., Sec.

Whelpington, October 15, 1829.

DEAR SIR,

Captain Cook some time ago communicated to me his wish to contribute to the Transactions of the Society any paper or document in the British Museum, or the public offices, which might be pointed out to him as illustrative of the history of this country; and, in May last, I showed him certain letters and proceedings respecting the murder of Lord Francis Russell in 1585, which he thought interesting, and of which I have received from him a copy, under the date of Brighton, 4th July, 1829, and now transmit it to you to lay before the next meeting of the Society.

The documents you will find arrange themselves into four divisions, upon each of which I will endeavour to make a few preliminary remarks, by way of illustrating the subject to which they relate.

I.—The Manner of the Slaughter of the Lord Russell.

The time and manner of the death of this young nobleman are facts well authenticated in history; but there wants a few notices of his family and himself, drawn up in the order of time, to show by what chain of circumstances he was drawn so far from home, and induced, in peaceful times, to be present at the border meeting in the bleak and lonely part of the Cheviot Hills where he met with his untimely end.

Francis Russell, the second Earl of Bedford, was a nobleman who made a conspicuous figure during the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Collins calls him "The Great Earl"; and in allusion to his great hospitality, Queen Elizabeth used to say of him, that he "made all the beggars." She also employed him much in northern affairs, and about the latter end of the year 1569, appointed him to succeed the Lord Grey de Wilton, as governor of Berwick and warden of the East Marches. In the following year, he and Sir Thomas Randolph, the resident English minister at the Court of Scotland, were commissioners in the conference holden at Berwick for negociating Queen Elizabeth's cruel and tantalizing proposition to marry Mary, queen of Scots, to her own favourite, Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester. offices of governor of Berwick and warden of the East Marches, he had added that of Lieutenant of the counties of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, upon which he entered about July 20, 1565, when he came to Berwick, and, under secret instructions from his mistress, gave all the assistance in his power to the measures of the Scottish nobility, who were opposed to Mary's marriage with Darnley. In the following year, however, Queen Elizabeth was requested to become godmother to James, prince of Scotland, and Bedford was sent with a splendid retinue to Stirling, where, on December 15, as ambassador and proxy for the English queen, he made an offering of a font of pure gold, and stood as surety for the royal infant: after which, according to Melville, he became one of the surest and most affectionate friends the Scottish queen had in England. These notices seem sufficient for the purpose of pointing out the connection, which the Bedford family had with the north of England, in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. In 1568, the earl was succeeded in the government of Berwick and the East Marches by Lord Hounsdon, a near relation of the queen's and after that time noway appears, as far as I have seen, on the annals of the Borders.

Before he entered upon these offices, Sir John Forster, a gentleman of very considerable property in Northumberland, had begun to signalize himself for his bravery and military skill. He was one of the captains

in the great foray into Scotland in 1557, when the houses of Linten and sixteen other towns were sacked and burnt, and all their corn destroyed. "In this skirmish, Sir John Forster fought bravely, was sore wounded, and had his horse killed under him, and to his prowess was chiefly ascribed the victory gained by his countrymen." The Duke of Norfolk thought him the only man in Northumberland fit to serve in that species of warfare; and during the siege of Berwick, in 1560, intrusted him with the chief command of a considerable body of light horsemen, which he had levied for the purpose of acting offensively and defensively in the Middle Marches. In 1563, the Earl of Bedford made him his deputy warden in the East Marches, in which capacity he attended Mary, the beautiful queen of Scotland over Hallidon Hill, towards Berwick, for the purpose of showing her from some short distance what Camden calls "munitissimum totius Britanniæ oppidum." When the northern rebellion broke out in 1569, he was Lord Warden of the Middle Marches, and continued to hold that office till about the year 15... when he was succeeded by the Lord Eure, whose successor in it— Carey, earl of Monmouth—says of Sir John Forster, that "he had been an active and valiant man, and had done great good service in the Middle Marches, of which he had been a long time warden."

Such were Francis, second earl of Bedford, the father, and Sir John Foster, the father-in-law of Sir Francis Russell, knight, the principal subject of these notices, and commonly known in history under the name of Lord Francis Russell. His mother, Margaret, countess of Bedford, was daughter of Sir John St. John, knight, and sister of Oliver, first Lord St. John, of Bletso. Of the time of his birth I have found no account. His father, when he entered upon the office of Lord Warden of the Middle Marches, was only 36 years of age; lord Francis could, therefore, be only a boy at that time. His wife's name was Eleanor, and she had two sisters, Grace, the eldest of the three, married to Sir William Fenwick, of Wallington, and Mary, wife of Henry, son and heir of Sir Robert Stapleton. His acquaintance with Sir John Forster's family was probably commenced while his father was warden, and Sir John deputy warden of the East Marches; and, if such was the

case, he was initiated at an early period of life into the enterprizing and perilous service of the borders. In 1575, he was at the warden's meeting on the Redeswire, which ended in the memorable affray in which himself, Sir John Forster, and other English gentlemen were made pri-History does not contain many notices concerning him; but the high consideration in which he was holden in the north may be judged of by his having represented Northumberland, in the parliaments from 1572 to 1585.* In 1775, he was chamberlain of Berwick and one of the governor's council there; and two years after filled the office of High Sheriff for Northumberland; but as will be seen by the following papers, + was slain at a border meeting at Hexpethgatehead, on July 27, 1585. The spot where he fell is on the ridge of the mountain called the Windy-gyle, on the confines between the lordship of Kidland and Scotland, near the eastern extremity of the Middle Marches; and is still pointed out by a cairn, called to this day "Russell's Cairn." Collins says, that his body was buried in Alnwick church; and, though no monument, nor entry in the parish registers there, remains in evidence of his assertion, yet it seems probable that his account is right; for, Carey in his Memoirs notices, "that Alnwick Abbey was the house where Sir John Forster ever lived while he was warden," and custom justifies the supposition that he would be buried among the ashes of his nearest friends or relatives in the country where he had resided. It is remarkable that he was slain on the day after his father died.

II.—The Names of those that are charged of being guilty of the Lord Russell's Death.

The clan of Carr, or more properly Kerr, in Scotland, was very powerful in the south of that country. Sir Thomas Carr, of Ferny-

^{*} Collins says that this Sir Francis Russell was summoned to parliament in 7 Edwd. 6. 1552: but, in this instance, mistakes him him for his father, who was certainly summoned to that parliament in the 25th year of his age, and two years before he succeeded his father in the earldom of Bedford. See Jour. of H. of Lords, I. 431.

[†] These papers are very much in accordance with the account Camden, in his Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, gives of the events of this meeting, with the exception of his asserting that others were killed besides Lord Francis; unless the expression "men lawfully assembled in God's peace and their sovereign's slain," may be considered as including a greater number than one.

hurst, the leader of the armed force on this occasion, had previously signalized himself as a military captain; for, immediately after the murder of the regent Murray, he and "Walter Scott, of Buccleugh, two of the mightiest of the border chieftains," made an incursion into England, burning and ravaging the country through which they passed It is his son who makes such a conspicuous figure in Carey's Memoirs.

III.—Sir John Forster's Reasons to prove that the Murder of the Lord Russell was premeditated.

This is a clever section; and, if it was really drawn up by Sir John Forster himself, shows that he was intimately acquainted with law in general, and particularly so with the customs, practice, and pleading of the March courts; the processes of which, and the laws and maxims by which they were regulated, are here practically explained. In the selection and marshalling of his arguments, one may incidentally see how much dexterous Machiavelism and chicanery were employed in managing the international transactions of the two countries; but, one could hardly have expected to have heard that so much learned reasoning had ever been employed in the Wardens' Courts at Kemmelspeth or Hexpethgatehead—in the open air, and on the high mountain ridge that separates England from Scotland, towards the head of the river Coquet.

IV.—The Manner of holding a Day of Truce, or Day of March, for Restitution of Injuries and Insolencies done on the Borders.

A collection of the laws of the borders, which contain directions about the manner of holding the border courts, was published above a century since by Bishop Nicholson, and might be very much improved by additions and corrections. This short section of the papers, under consideration, does not seem to be drawn up with the same spirit and care as the preceding articles; but rather to have been intended to suit the case in question, than for general purposes as its title would imply.

I am, dear Sir, your's, very truly,

JOHN HODGSON.

^{*} Ridpath's Bord. Hist. 633.

[M.S. Cotton. Mus. Brit. Caligula C. VIII. fol. 236-243.]

L Russell.

IMPRIMIS—the Warden of the middle marches of England came to Oswyne Middle the xxvijth of July, 1585, wth the gentlemen of England to kepe a truce wth the opposite warden and staying there a certaine space, sent certaine gentlemen to the oppo-site warden to Hexpethgatehead to make assurance according to the ancient use & custome wch being graunted on both sides, and thereupon proclamacion made that none should breake the said assurance untill the next day in the morning, neyther in word nor dede, nor countenance, upon paine of death. The said Warden came forwarde thinkinge to finde the warden of Scotland accompanyed after his accustomed manner, weh they found contrary to the greate mistakeinge of the said warden of England, and all the gentlemen his companye, the ground so servinge that they could not discover the other ptye till they were at the joyneinge together, so that there was no remedie, the forces of Scotland being so greate, but stand to their former assurance, where the said opposite warden was standinge ranged in order of bat-tell with ensigne pensell fyfe & drumes otherwise then ordinarye custome hath bene at any day of Marche in tyme of peace betwene those two realmes as in their procedings did playnly appere.

This is not accident or sodaine as ordinarily ehath bene and yet hath bene stayed by warden or comra. If it had bene an accident or sodaine breakeinge by rascalls as there was no such matter, The gentle-men of Scotland, wth their drumes, fife, shot, and such as carryed the ensigne & pensells would have tarryed with the warden, so that it appeareth plainely that it was a pretended matter before hand, for the wardens sittinge quietly, calling their bills the warden of England, thinkinge no harme, the partye of Scotland seeing the tyme serve for their former devise sodainely brake strikinge up a larome wth sounds of drumes & fife wth ensigne displayed pensell and shot & gave their chardge upon us in wch chardge the lord Russell was cruelly slaine wth a shot, and so divers gentlemen of Scotland, wth their footmen and horsemen and their whole force followed and maintayned the chardge fower miles wt n the realme of England, and toke sondry prisoners and horses, and carryed them into Scotland, weh they deny to redeliver againe. The like breach of assurance was never sene, so that it is manifest that it is a plaine set downe matter before. When all this was done and the fields disordered, and the gentleman was slaine, and all past remedye the warden of

heare it, weh was to a small purpose.

Scotland made proclamacion for the defence of the

former devise when there was but a small company

of gentlemen eyther of England or Scotland left to

L-October 1585. The manner of the slaughter of the | Carre, of Farniherst, Knight, Wm. Carre, of Angerem, James Carre, of Lintolee, Robert Carre, bro-ther to the said W^m. Carre, Andrew Carre, lor. of Grenhead, John Rudderford, of Hunthill, David Moscroppe, deputy Provost of Jedworth, Kirton, wardens sergeant, James Carre.

> III .- Sir John Forster's reasons to prove the murther of the lord Russell was pretended — (Written by S Jo. Forster and subscribed Ex'at.) IMPRIMIS the Warden of the Middle marches of England came to Oswold middle the xxvijth of July, 1585, wth the gentlemen of England to kepe a day of truce wth the opposite warden, but staying there a certaine space sent certaine gent to the opposite warden to Hexpethgatehead to take assurance, etc. as on the other side, and afterwards these names subscribed.

> John Forster, Wm. Fewnike, Ri. Feynick, Jo. Horsley, Thomas Scloy, Edmund Creister, John Thornton, Robt, Lisley, Tho. Woodrington. Humfr. Forster, Robert Claveringe, Robt. Middleton, Perceval Clennell, Andrew Pringell, George Pryngle, John Heron, James Ogle, John Heron, Fra. Rad-cliff, Luke Ogle, Tho. Procter, John Carnaby, Ralph Collingwood, Henry Collingwood, Jo. Collingwood, the younger, Percewell Thomas Collingwood, Robert Leaylle, Edward Shaftowe, Jo. Hall,

> October, 1585 .- Doubtes wherein her Mattes Comission ers desire to be resolved.—1. First if or English witnesses be not to be allowed weh is a principall cause to stand upon so farre as there is lawe to maintaine, then whether to peed to ex. Pharniherst himselfe who they deny not to be ex. and some other that were on the field. Scottshmen whome they cannot disallow supposing the matter so plaine in some principall points, as upon othe they cannot nor will deny, viz. That assembly in warlike & strange manner otherwise than at any tyme before. The charge against the English and the chase a greate way with displayed en-signes, pennans, or pensells into England, win sound of drume & fife wth the chiefe offic's and servants of Pharnihurst, and the whole power of that side, savinge very few, &c. The murder & killinge of the lord Russell done in the first beginninge of that dis-order but by whome unknown. The takinge of prisoners as well in the chase in Englands ground, as in the presence, and even at the back of the said Pharniherst Warden and the spoyle of a greate number her Matter subjects at that tyme &c. All wch it is sup-Matles subjects at that tyme &c. posed by St. Jo. Forster & others they cannot denye.

Irm whether to yeld to examyne any witness of their side as they This offer they made by word after their answer in have desired offering to allowe of writing delivered. or English witnesses if we will allowe of their witnesses supposinge more advantage to fall by or witnesses then can fall to them admitt they prove all they alledge, because that allegacon I II .- October, 1585. The names of those that are chord- think not sufficient. But this is advisedly to be consiged to be guilty of the lord Russell's death .- Sr Thomas dered & yet or English witnesses ex. alone if it can be

3. Itm it may be considered whether to ex. onely greate doubt and question betwene the said English, harniherst and other Scottishmen that cannot denye | Warden and his company of some perill intended af-Pharniherst and other Scottishmen that cannot denye the points before declared rather than by allowing ter the same power and forces was sene and viewed or English witnesses to allow also their witnesses, if After the said assurance being then destitute of any otherwise we cannot have or English witnesses allowed or to ex. first the Scotts, and if we finde them not sufficient then to allowe their witnesses rather then we lose the benefiet of or English.

The best of these 4. For the profe against Araine there to be taken. I se but little, savinge presumpcon that rharmhersts dealinge might be thought not whout his privity, his sonne being wth Arrane late before whereof there is no proufe but secret intelligence, yet he may be exd himself of that point and what advise he had upon his othe. And the want of profe is the said Arrane was left out of the said bill. con that Pharnihersts dealinge might be thought

5. There is some suspicion they have found out, one as guiltye of the act of the murder of the lord answere there is some semeing there should be such a matter, but whether true or not it is uncertaine, albeit Sr John Forster hath such secret knowledge and if it so be it is thought by the said Sr John Forster and myself, that it were no hinderance to the cause to give them cause to procede with that purpose whereby happely some furder matter might fall out and yet hinder or excuse no other that of good cause or likelihood.

October, 1585 .- A project of the reply to the answere of the Scottish Comissioners.

To reply to the answere made by the honorable Comissioners opposite, and authorised by the right mightye and excellent prince James by the grace of God, Kinge of Scotts to the bill or allegacon exhibited by the Com's authorised by the most excellent princes Elizabeth, by the same grace Q.

of England.

To the first parte of the allegacion in the said answere contained, although wardens be at liby and no lawe contrary but they may assemble bringe order and array power and forces at their day marches as they like and at their discretion, yet not allowed or used in tyme of peace to assemble or bringe to any such metings tendinge to the preservinge of peace and good order, any ensignes pennans fifes and drumes wen be signes and tokens of warr. And therefore the said Sr Thomas Carre with his complises comeing to the said day march assembled and furnished with such signes and tokens of warr, wth greater number, power and forces, as well gathered out of the other wardenryes as his owne, and in other forcible order placed appointed and arrayed then was usual, or at any tyme before used eyther by the said Sr Thomas Carre, warden, or by the warden opposite as is alledged, and the same unaccustomed power and force by forsene advantage so pollitiquely in order of battell there placed as before taking of assurance and before the said English warden his co-

other help or reliefe but to stand to the trust & hope onely of their said assurance was a manifest and plaine presumption, that the consequente disorder and mischiefes that did after fall out was purposely before hand pretended to the breache of the treatye truce and assurance as in the said bill or allegacon exhibit-

ed is alleaged.

To their answere to the second and third heads of the said bill or allegacion as they do term it, excused chiefly by the originall beginninge of the breake whereupon the whole disorder as they say did growe was begone by the English. Admit the same was true as it is not, God forbid that of so light an occasion so great disorder and mischiefe as did followe were to be allowed as lawfull or to allowe any sub-Russell, thinking to be so dischardged, and by their ject being attempted wth greater hurte or injurye, then was offered or done by any English to any subject of Scotland that day, to redresse his owne injurye with a greater mischiefe being not denyed of justice and a thinge usually in experience of greater offences and quarrels many tymes pacified, and upon complainte presently redressed by the wardens at like metings then of sufficient power to suppress greater matters and offence then for this excuse if it were true as alledged, but the whole power savinge a small number wth the warden of Scotland there assembled wth the wardens owne ensigne, and a good number of pennans beside displayed sound of fife & drume accompanyed wth his owne chefe servaunts and officers, upon so small occasion if it were true, to invade the realme of England, cruelly to murder kill take & lead away as prisoners, her maty subjects as well in chase wtin the ground of England as upon the field in the presence and even at the back of the said Warden w^{ch} wth the suspicious assembly before declared, and all the members depending of the same manifestly proveth and enforceth a pretended intent and plaine breach of the peace truce and assurance, and the disorders then & there comitted to be by the counsel & pcurement of the said warden of the middle marche of Scotland and his accomplishes, and the mattre for the excuse of the same in the said answere, objected to be but feigned or surmized, or at the least of purpose procured for the coloring onely of the pretended mischiefes as any intending the greatest mischief might easely procure to be done at such assemblyes as this, that for excuse is alleaged were to be allowed a perilous and dangerous example, not confessing that there was any pacifienge of the disorder by the said warden, till all the mischiefs were ended, or yet the prisoners generally set fre, but for the most pte resting as yet in bondage, and no spoyles as yet redressed, not omittinge also the uncertaintye of the excuse alledged, is it more to be allowed (as it is not) in that it is not declared whether by English or Scotts the same first spears was minge so farre into the danger as wthout greater cast downe, swords drawne and shot dischardged, danger could not be avoyded, was not by the said nor by what English persons. And not declaring English Warden known or discovered bredinge a what injurious words they were that were spoken, neyther the pouring of the most horrible murder of the honourable Lord Russell her Matys subject, parcell of the said bill or allegacion so directly excused as it is taken, being the first act of injury done in the first assault, and chardge that was given at the be-ginninge of the said disord, not refusing to joyne wth you the Comissrs opposite in any convenient tryall, se farre as or condicion and authoritye will beare to the findeinge out of any such as are culpable of that so haynus a cryme, not excusing such as are not to be excused. And to the redresse of prisoners and goods according to the lawes to be tryed by the war-We think her Matys warden for his part will weightyer causes being first redressed and satisfied to her Matre as to the honour of her highnes appertaineth.

To the witnesses by the said answere desired to be examined for profe of the causes in the same answere contayned. We have some doubt whether or commission or authoritye so serveth wthout furder direction or instruction from her Matye or Soveraigne maintayneing to be lawful and agreing to the lawes of God and evil, that or English witnesses ought to be examined and allowed the case standing not as a co-mon cause between princes against whome it were hard for any subject to prove or to beare wittness.

ix Octobr. 1585 .- Albeit that it plainely appeareth The l. Scrops to as well by or allegacon as by the Sec. Walsingham. witnes for profe thereof that a manifest breach of the peace will be found in Farniherst. yet they will allowe or admitt no breach thereof at all, as by the viewe of their said answere you may very well perceave, Yet notwinstanding because we could not by that course so effectually pvaile wth them as were to be wished, for p'nt deliv' ye of Ferniherst as a fowle man in the breach of the peace and murder of the Lord Russell. We made choice agreable to an especiall article amongst others in our instrucc'ons fro the Lls of his Matrs privy Counsell to vers nobles of Scotland & Mr. Fennick. demand him to be delivered to us a fowie man in respect of the appearance of his facte wth oth' Scottshmen his accomplices. Whereunto they have answered that they could not do it untill they had further acquainted the Kinge therewth but would upon the theis horrible crymes of fayth-breaking, Murther & understanding his pleasure therein, give us their further answere upon friday next.

October 1585 .- The causes objected against Sr. Tho. Carre of Farniherst and others his Complices consist as follows. All issues in tryall do consist in theis two heads in fact in lawe .- In every fact is considered the effect the demeanor in doinge and the intent.—In this act now in question whereupon Farniherst and his complices are chardged Theffect is this, The realme

nor whether by English or Scotts they were said, if slaine, and those of the best in presence, Twenty genthe matter were as any weight as it is not to excuse themen making no resistance taken prisoners, goods of so great inconvenience. So as the substance in the great value taken and carryed away.—The demeanor said bill or allegacion conteyned is not so sufficiently was thus, he complained by letters extant, to thearle avoyded by the said answere as it is expounded, of Arrane wherein he sheweth himself offended upon a former accident .-- He prepared new ensignes with hast.—He arrayed his people, being armed in order of battell wth Ensignes, penons, gwydons, drums, fyfes, &c. The ensigne carryed by his own servaunt, who entred after with the same, displayed two miles wthin England.—He toke a place of advantage where he nor his company could be discovered wth wings ordered in such sorte that the lord warden lighting was envyroned.—He stood in battell array with 3000 in number by estimacon.—His manner of coming was expostulate by the lord warden wth the gent. attending and misliked.—He denied satisfie-inge of the K. lre signed wth his owne hands, comnot refuse to deale in that course the greater and aundinge redresse to one Henry Collingwood, Englishman, who being aftsones urged by the lord war-den for full answere utterly refused wth these terms, I will answ. the Kinge.-Wm Stable als Coulder one of the bands of Jedworth requyred two Englishmen servaunts to Mr. Thornston of a speciall favor having once bene his servaunt that they would repayr to their mrs and kepe them on horseback for the day would prove evill.—The lord Russell was offred to be taken prisoner by Wm. Carre of Ankoram. A vollie of shot dischardged upon the lord Russell, when he was slaine.—The drum stroke up as it semed for a token immediately upon the first chardge. -The English gentlemen were taken prisoners that were next about both the wardens sundry wthin a man's lenght, and were not releved by Farniherst.-Farniherst drewe his owne sworde.—The Chace came by Far: wthin the distance of fortye yerds, and were not stayed by him.-The said chace was followed into England by his whole troupes, ensignes displayed, guidons, &c. wherein Kirton his water serernt was taken as an arch Traytor by Mr. Feunick of Wallington, two miles within England .-Horses & men taken in England & carryed away by the Scotts 100 or more.—Farniherst chardged wth the premisses in Scotl: confessed that his banner was displayed in the prace of Peck her Matra Ambr di-

> The intent appeareth by the demeanr and effect beforesaid:—All web concurring in one act is rightly tearmed & taken for hostilitye carryeinge will it Robbery, as accessaryes accompaneinge

Upon the fact groweth the lawe which is considered in theis:-The lawe of God, The treatyes betwixt the princes the same expounded & confirmed by experience. The lawe Civile and and the lawe of nations. And first in the lawe of God_In the mouthe of two or thre witnesses all truthe shall stand, -In the Murther is punished by death, God will requyre bloudshed at the hands of men yea of beasts. In the treatyes, hostilityes be expressly forbidden, Treaty was entred by force, thassurance broken men lawful- 6. art. 2. H. 8. art. 2, 3. for the web the penalty is ly assembled in God's peace and their Soveraignes not expressed as a cryme of higher nature or quality

than ought to come wthin the compasse of ordinary the murther of the lord Russell by his precogitat tryall but is reserved tryable by Comrs as appeareth by the treatye H. 6. art. 16. The manner no doubt person within his realm yea though it were the lord is intended agreable to the lawe of God and the lawe of nations. The repayre of justice not done and the punishment of thoffender is referred to the zeale of Gods justice in the heart of the prince to the web in delivering so doth it abridge the same in leaving and God hath put the sword into his hands. Thother out that which was authorised to enquire upon beaccessary crymes of breach of assurance murther and fore, namely the breach of the peace which they find robbery in cases where they be principall, are determinable by the wardens by delivery.

the princes whin memery thus:-King Henry the they ground upon the treaty, concluding that the exventh made delivery by his Comissioners of Sr Wm Heron his Matys officer to satisfie the murther the greate seale etc. admitting no difference betwene

of Mr Carmighell then keper of Liddesdale to satisfie her Matye for the breach of assurance & slaughter of ST George Heron and others. By the Civill lawe the partye offended or his prince complaineinge by his Ambr to the prince of the offendr if he be denyed justice. In causes pecuniary, reprisals are justly graunted by his own prince to the person so agreeved. In causes criminall, not estimable as for life or limbes taken away, yf justice be denyed the lawe wil-leth denouncing of warre. The reason of the lawe is that the subject oweth obedience and service to his prince and the prince proteccon to his subjects. In both the cases his profes of his owne nation is sufficient neythar shall thadversary produce witnesses to sweare to the contrary, Iniquam enim est quæri de peregrino for punishment force publique and armed is death. By the lawe of nations the assertions abovesaid in the effect and demeanor will be avowed & proved by the othes of twenty gentl of bloud & cotearmour who are ready to fortific their othes so to be taken by combat with their appeachers upon equal condicon. The ground is auncient-Grass hostilis, nisi bellum prius denunciatum ett indictum fuerit, est latrocinium. By the premises it appeareth that Farniherst and his complices are justly charged. The profe is lawful. The fileing not avoydable and therefore our demaund already made to have him and his complices delivered is just.

zvjth Octob. 1585 .- The Scottish kinges answere to the Comissioners demaund sent by George Younge :- Sone afwas dispached Mr. George Younge with a paper signed with the kinges hand as an Appendix or Complement of the former Commission where upon we were advertised from the opposite Comissioners that they had receaved further instruccons from the kinge and requyred our metinge upon satterday the xvjth of October. At wch tyme protestinge the kinges good disposition and sincerity they shewed us the same vizt. Albeit by generall words he had in his former comission given power to procede in tryall &c. Now in case upon true & lawful profes had, Farnih: can be found guiltye in the breach of the assurance or England being but 300 in number, and thother 2000

to be the chiefest pointe wherewthall he is chardged and for which this said paper directed no deliverye. The third branch:—Experience hath expounded and This may depend upon the conceipt pretended in their confirmed the honourable and sincere meaninge of answere that the peace cannot be broken which I think peace shall not end before warre denounced under of Sr Robert Carre, lord of Cesfurth, the opposite ending and violating. The cause and theffect whereof warden slaine at a day of marche in a tumult by one the words are their Treaty, H. 8. art. 4. Quod neuter Starrehead a private man.

dictorum principium eorumve aut eorum alterius suhThearle of Moreton late Regent made deliv'y of ditidictum perpetunm pacis fœdus aut aliquem articulum in eodem comprehensum violabit diminuet dissolvet aut violabunt diminuent dissolvent &c. The same purpose appeareth in their comission which carryinge the same words wth or mutatis mutandis in the clause, Whereas or hath and the peace broken they have to the hazard of the breach of the peace and yet in the later part given authority to enquyre of breach of the comon peace after assurance given, Intendinge peradventure at more nede to distinguish betwene the comon peace and the truce.

> Octob. 16to, 1585.-M. to the L Scrope & the rest of the Comrs:-My verie good lord the Queenes Maty upon the viewe of the answere made by the Scottish comisioners to you allegacons doth finde the same very weake and impertinent considering the circumstances & sequel of the matter, for where they pretend for excuse of the extraordinary number weh accompanyed their warden that he being a publique person in thaffayres of his office might lawfully by the authoritye of his Soveraigne repayre to the day of march accompanyed with what number he pleased, many or fewe, armed or unarmed, in order or unarrayed, and that there is no statute to the contrary, her Maty conceiveth it may well be replyed unto them that if eyther the said warden had at any other tyme repayred to a day of metinge with the like num. bers and in like sorte appointed for armor and all other ercumstances or that there had followed no act of hostilitye not long after the tyme of tht assembly eyther els that the same had fallen out immediatlye upon the cause by them alledged through the stelth comitted by an English boy then might they answere yelde some collor or shewe of satisfaction. But seing the said warden made not repayre before to any day of metinge accompanyed in that sorte and that the matter of disorder comitted by the English boy was compounded, and offer made by the English warden to have the boy executed, there is no reason to alledge that as a ground of defence for the breach of peace, all things being appeased before the last dis-order fell out. And that how unlikely it was that

would attempt any thinge, comon reason will easily for the weh in case the Comrs of Scotland shall not Wherein it is not also to be denyed that there was nothinge done by the warden of Scotland tisfaccon that apperteyneth upon view of the propofor the stay of the disorder nor present restitucion sicon you write that they have made unto him then made of the prisoners then taken. And therefore it is manifest that the breach of the peace grewe from them, and so consequently the murther and so the delivery of the warden for the breach of the peace to be insisted on wch cannot justly be denyed, the fact being so notoriously knowne as there is no cause why any witnesses should be produced for the profe thereof. Besides her Ma^{ty} saith that as it was well alledged by you this case is extraordinary, the nobleman stayeing no border nor comon person but for birth & quality, a principall member of this state and therefore requyreth extraordinary satisfaction wch being denyed, she conceaveth that there is not that care had of the continuance of thamity that is pretended. And to make that the more apparent that this was a matter pretended her Maty thinketh mete, you should deduce this fact of the breach of facte. peace from a cause precedent of the disorder comitted by certain of her subjects of the west marches for which there was offer made by her Matyes warden that satisfaction should be yelded accordinge to the treatye wherewth they resting not satisfyed as it is greatly to be presumed, take a resolucon of revenge weh fell out in execution, and that to prove, you may saye that the same was not done wtout advise from the Courte of Scotland. Pharnihersts lres unto Arrane gave great cause of presumpcon, for that as it appeareth by the said lres demanded advise how he should behave himself. Whereupon his manner of proceedinge in a warlike sorte for numbers armor array and other marshall shewes of drumes & fifes, &c. pennons displayed, argueth that he had some direction to take revenge as the sequele doth manifestly witness. And herein her Matye doth call to minde two speciall examples which she doubteth not but you have already alleaged of redresse and satisfaccon, made in the like cases of the breach of peace, the one by England in K. Henry the 7ths tyme, when hereon the warden was delivered into Scotland, and thother of fresher memory by Scotland duringe the time of the late Regents govern-ment when Carmihell keper of Leddisdale, and sixe or eyght noblemen were delivered into England as hostages for yeelding satisfaccon for the disorder comitted at the Reddiswyre, which examples she conceaveth would be followed if there were as greate care had nowe of the continewinge of good peace and amitye between the two crounes as the said Kinge and Regent semed to have, especially the present

at the least, the Scotts armed, the English unarmed case beinge of greater importance than the precedent receave direccon from their K. to yield her that sashall you know her further pleasure, touching the course that is to be held in the matter whereof I thought good in the meane tyme to notifie to you

> IV .- 19th October, 1585. The manner of the holding of a day of trewe or day of Marche for the restitucon of injuries and insolences uppon the Borders.

> First the twoo opposite wardens at a sett day & place indifferent do meete at the borders and there prepare themselves to geve & receave justice as at a

generall Assize.

The forme of peeeding is by exhibiting of billes by the pties interessed and the pties found foule or giltie are to be delivered into the opposite Wardens handes to make satisfaccon according to the qualitie of the

1. The manner of triall of any pson is twoo folde viz. The one, when the Warden shall uppon his owne knowledge, confesse the facte & so deliver the

ptie offendinge.

2. The other is by confrontinge of a man of the same nation to averre the facte, Then is he by the

lawe guilte.

For except the Warden himself knowing shall acknowledge the facte or a man of the same nacon found that voluntarilie will avouch it (the ordinary & only waies of triall) be the fact never so patent the delinquent is guilt by the lawes of the borders.

The death of the L. Russell is apparent, & therefore the warden of Scotland ex. notorietate facti is foule thereof wthout contradiccon in case he deny it.

For triall this Order is to be taken.

Her Matte is to require the delivie of Farniherst into England. Bycause both wardens are pties, Newe Wardens are to be named by pvicom. The frendes of the L. Russell are to exhibit their bill accusing Farniberst. If either the newe warden ex. notorietate facti shall acknowledge the bill, Or otherwise a scottes man be found to averre the facte upon him he must stand guiltie and is to be delived ex. notorietate juris.

Examples-Sir Robert Car: warden of Scotland being slavne at a trewe, a Heron then Englishe war-den wth 7 others were delived for him & died in Fast

Castle prisoners for that facte.

An Archbishop of St. Andrewes (Beton) did underlie the lawes of the borders in the like case.

XLII.—Observations on Mr. Brand's Opinion respecting the Origin of the Prior's Haven at Tynemouth. Communicated by Thomas Brown, Esq. in a letter to the President and Council of the Newcastle Antiquarian Society.

GENTLEMEN,

I FEEL induced respectfully to submit to your consideration the few following observations, with a view of drawing the attention of your learned body to a subject of considerable importance as connected with the local history of this neighbourhood.

To doubt the accuracy of even a conjecture of so able and learned a historian as Brand—especially on any subject connected with antiquarian research, wherein he has so eminently excelled—may appear bordering upon presumption. There are, however, conclusions, at which that learned author has arrived, which do not seem to be quite warranted, by the premises from whence they are deduced. One of these, contained in the author's account of Tynemouth, which is given in the second volume of his *History of Newcastle*, appears to furnish considerable room for doubt.

He thus commences his account—"Notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by the learned Horsley, some recent discoveries seem clearly to prove to us, that the Romans had a station in this place, during their residence in Britain"—and in a note subjoined, wherein he narrates the finding in Tinmouth Castle, the front of a Roman altar, and also a stone with a Roman inscription thereon, he gives it as his opinion, that the Haven on the south of the Castle, was one of the artificial harbours of the Romans.

Now that the Haven is *not* of Roman origin, will, it is presumed, appear almost undeniable, even upon a cursory examination of the premises upon which the author founds his conjecture, but it is appre-

hended that the document hereafter referred to, places the matter beyond even a doubt.

Whether or not the Romans had a station at Tynemouth, is not perhaps essentially material in deciding the question now under consideration; but inasmuch as the existence of such a station gives a colourable basis for the author's conjecture as to the origin of the Haven, it may not be inappropriate, to examine the grounds upon which he constructs the assumption, that this has been a Roman station.

The author in the outset, very candidly admits the authority of Horsley, as being on this point opposed to him, and he raises his hypothesis, upon the single and isolated fact, of these two Roman stones having been discovered near the castle; he says that the front of the Roman altar was found by a Major Durnford, at the depth of six feet in the earth—"where it had been laid as a foundation stone probably of the ancient Christian church,* which is said to have been erected there soon after the introduction of the faith into Britain." Now the only fact, we here discover, is the finding of the stone by Major Durn-FORD, at the depth of six feet in the earth, all the rest is purely an assumption; the fact of its having constituted part of the foundation of the ancient Christian church, could only have been established, from some trace of such foundation having been discovered; but of this we have no account, therefore under what circumstances, or at what period, this stone had been placed there, must be altogether matter of conjecture.

The other stone with a Roman inscription, and which will bye and bye be more particularly adverted to, was found in the same place June 12th, 1783, "where (as the author observes) it had been laid in the foundation of some of the ancient buildings"—but he does not venture to assert, that this stone had along with the other been employed in the foundation of the ancient church, so as to raise the inference,

* The first Christian church upon this place is said to have been built of wood, by Edwin, king of the Northumbrians, sometime between the years 617 and 633, and in this his daughter Rosella, is said to have taken the veil; Oswald, his successor, whose reign commenced in 634, caused this wooden edifice to be taken down, and erected upon the site thereof a structure of stone.—Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. tom. iii. p. 42.

that both stones had been in the hands of the builder at the same period, therefore with regard to this stone, we are equally left in the dark, as to the circumstances under which, and the probable period when, it came there.

The same author describes three stones which he states to have been found at Jarrow,* one of which he suspects to be of Roman workmanship, and the other two, from the inscriptions thereon, being obviously so; these stones, he says, "may have been brought to Jarrow at the first building of the monastery, from the adjoining Roman station near South Shields." Now these stones furnish equally strong grounds for asserting, that at Jarrow also there had been a Roman station;—this however the author does not attempt to set up; but accounts for these stones having come there, in that reasonable and probable manner, which, it is submitted, is equally applicable to the stones discovered at Tynemouth, especially when the immediate vicinity of that place to the station on the opposite bank of the river, is considered.

The various military works, which have from time to time been constructed, in and near the ruins of the ancient monastery, the excavation of vaults within its site, and the digging of graves in the cemetery immediately adjoining, together with the removal of the mounds of earth, on the outside of the present fortifications, must have afforded many and ample opportunities of discovering other remains of Roman antiquities, had any such existed there; and the total absence of such indications would seem most fully to justify the presumption, that the Romans never had a station at this place.

The author having thus assumed the existence of a Roman station, and having taken it for granted, that the stone secondly mentioned had been placed by the Romans, as a tablet on a temple erected there to the God of the Winds, he proceeds therefrom, and from the inscription which he makes out upon this stone, to deduce the inference, that the haven, called Prior's Haven, is of Roman origin.

The following is the inscription given as found upon this stone:—

^{*} See Brand, vol. ii. p. 62,—and appendix, p. 590.

"Gyrum Cumbas et Templum fecit Caius Julius Verus Maximinus Legionis sextæ victricis ex voto."*

The note which immediately follows runs thus:—

"I suppose Gyrum to mean here,—a circular harbour for the shipping—and, in favour of this hypothesis, have to observe that there is still a recess of that form, called Prior's Haven, adjoining on the south to Tynemouth castle, which has every appearance of having been one of the artificial harbours of that great people, and is, I presume the place alluded to in this inscription." Now from the author's own account, it does not seem quite clear, that he is accurate as to this word "Gyrum," upon which his whole argument hinges, actually being part of the inscription, for he says, "The first letter of what I call the first line of the inscription, is confessedly faint and doubtful: the second letter appears plainly to be a Y, as does the third to be an R, though at first sight, it resembles a P, there can be no doubt concerning any of the others;" granting, however, that he is correct as to the word, and without questioning the accuracy of his translation, as from authoritiest he quotes, the word would certainly seem to have been used to denote "a harbour," it does not for the following reason, as far as relates to the term "circular," seem applicable to Prior's Haven.

It is true that the banks inclosing the western side of the haven, have from the accumulation of sand at high-water mark, and other adventitious causes, assumed a sort of semi-cirular or amphitheatrical

^{*} It should have been Cypum cum basi, et Templum, &c.—i. e. Caius Julius Verus Maximinus of the Sixth Victorious Legion according to a vow erected this Cippus, with its base and a temple. The Cippi were columns erected on pedestals or bases as boundary marks, memorials of affection or events, and for many other purposes. Sometimes when placed in temples they were surmounted with the statue of the Deity to whom the building was dedicated. When Christianity became the established religion of Europe, crosses were erected for purposes similar to those for which the Romans had used Cippi.—J. H. Sec.

[†] Skeffer in his book de Militia Navali Veterum, p. 212, cites Columella, lib. ix. as describing the ancient mode of making harbours in the following words, "præjaciuntur in Gyrum moles." This word seems to have been corrupted afterwards into "Gyrrus," see Dufresne in verbo, where he gives a quotation from an authority of the date of 1064, in which the following passage occurs—" eant et redeant piscatores Gyrrum."

shape, yet it cannot but be quite apparent to the most common observer, that the land must at one period have reached out to the present extent of, and have covered the rocks lying on the north and south sides of the haven, consequently, that when it has been cut, the haven itself instead of being *circular*, must have been decidedly *oblong*.

Independent, however, of all that has before been observed, the conjecture of the learned historian appears to fall to the ground on the score of improbability; for what motive or inducement had the Romans it may reasonably be asked, when by means of a strong and formidable station on the south bank of the Tyne, they had the full command and use of a good natural harbour, to form an artificial harbour, so immediately in its vicinity?

That the place now called Prior's Haven, was, as its name imports, made by the Priors of Tynemouth, for the use of that monastery, seems to be placed beyond a doubt by the document presently referred It would appear that during the thirteenth century, great feuds and contentions had existed between the priors and the burgesses of Newcastle, who claimed the port under the crown, respecting certain alleged infractions on the part of the monastery, with reference to the duties and customs upon goods landed for its use; the supplies for the monastery coming by sea, and these would not be inconsiderable in amount, would, when brought within the limits of the port, be liable to these imposts—to avoid this, and perhaps other exactions of the king's officers and burgesses, it is fair to presume that the prior had been induced to cut the harbour in question, without the limits of the port, and the jurisdiction of the town of Newcastle; for by the record of a suit, appearing to have been instituted before the king in parliament in the term of St. Hilary, in the 20th of Edward I. (1292) between the king and the burgesses of Newcastle, and the prior of Tynemouth, the prior is required to answer for certain grievances and injuries alleged to have been committed by him, as well against the king as against the said burgesses, and he is charged (inter alia) with having made for his own use and benefit, in his domain and lands lying between the town of Newcastle and the sea, a port where no port before existed.

The following are extracts from this record, a copy of which is given by Brand, in the appendix to his second volume of the *History of Newcastle*.

"Pretextu cujus mandati venerunt predictus prior et predict' burgenses personaliter modo hic et pred' burgenses pro Domino Rege dicunt quod cum ipse Dominus Rex habeat et habere debeat totum portum in aqua de Tyne a mari usque ad locum qui dicitur Hydewine-Streames, ita liberi quod non liceat alicui carcare seu discarcare mercandizas aliquas seu denaratas nec forstallum facere de hujus modi mercandizis seu denar' emend' vel vendend' eadem nisi infra villam Novi Castri predict'. Ita quod Dominus Rex tolneta sua prisas et costumas et alia ad dominium suum ibidem spectant' percipere possit.—Predictus prior qui habet dominicas terras suas predict' aque adjacent' inter mare & villam pred' carcare & discarcare facit ibidem mercandizas & denar' quascunque ibidem applicant' emend' et vendend' in terris suis pred' pro voluntate sua faciendo ibi portum ubi nullus portus prius fuit et etiam forstalla mercandizarum in prejudicium Domini Regis et ville sue."

"Dicunt etiam quod homines et tenentes predict' prioris de Tynemuth et de Sheeles per ipsum priorem apud Sheeles receptati carcant et discarcant mercandizas et denarratas ac si essent mercatores secundum quantitatem bonorum suorum, et ita portum et forstallum ibidem faciunt ubi nullus portus de jure fieri deberet.

"Et quia compertum est per veredictum jur' sicut in recordo patet superius quod portus in aqua de Tyne a mari usque ad locum qui dicitur Hidewyne Streames est liber portus Regis, et quod nullus in portu illo carcare aut discarcare potest sine licent' Regis aut ballivorum suorum. Ita quod apud Tynemuth neque apud Sheeles naves carcantur sive discarcantur bona vel mercimonia ibidem de cetero vendantur infra coopertum nec extra, &c. Et recuperet Dominus Rex dampna sua que taxantur per jur ad quatuor libras racione carcacionis et discarcacionis navium ibidem per predict. priorem."

The foregoing extracts from this record, seem clearly to show that the prior of Tynemouth was charged at least, with, not only having made ("faciendo" is the term used) a port where no port before existed, but also with having loaded and unloaded ships there (i.e.) "apud Tynemuth."

That the parts of this voluminous record, appearing to bear upon this question, may have been overlooked by Brand, is by no means improbable; inasmuch as he has contented himself with quoting from Bourne, that which *professes* to be a translation of the record, but wherein the foregoing passages are altogether omitted.*

I am, Gentlemen,

With much respect,

Your obedient and very humble Servant,

THO. BROWN.

Newcastle, Oct. 6, 1829.

^{*} Since the preceding remarks were drawn up, I have met with the following note in the marginal MS. additions made by Grey to his *Chorographia*, and published by the Newcastle Antiquarian Society. The note is marked p. 18, line 24. "The prior of Tinemouth contended with the T * * for the privilege of Key * * but was foiled, which made the prior to make the haven called Prior Haven.

XLIII.—The Great Roll of the Half of the sixth Year of King Richard the First, beginning in July, 1194, and ending in January, 1195; also for Easter Term, in the seventh Year of King John. From the originals in the Tower of London, communicated by Henry Petrie, Esq., Keeper of the Records there, to the Rev. John Hodgson, Sec.

Whelpington, October, 1829.

THE revenues of the kings of England, in former times, were collected by the Sheriffs of the different counties, and annually accounted for at the Exchequer, before an officer called the Clerk of the Pipe. counts themselves were kept on long skins of parchment, sometimes written on both sides, and the whole number of them, for one year, sewed together at the head, and rolled into one bundle, from which they obtained this name of the Great Roll, which was otherwise called the Pipe Roll, from the form of the Roll itself, "which is put together like a pipe."—Cowell. From the second year of the reign of King Henry the second, these highly valuable records are now kept in the Exchequer Offices, in Somerset House, and the series of them, for the whole of the counties of England, is nearly complete. year, there is only one of these Rolls remaining, which has been supposed to belong to the fifth year of King Stephen, and to other years; but Mr. Petrie thinks it contains internal evidence, for assigning it to either the 29th or 30th of Henry the First. Other two of them have been separated from the rest, and are now in the custody of Mr. Petrie, among the records of the Tower, who has furnished me with a copy of them, so far as they relate to Northumberland, which I have now the pleasure of forwarding to the Society, as a very curious contribution to its Transactions, as well as a specimen of the highly interesting nature to Historians of the contents of the whole. Madox, in his great work, The

History of the Exchequer, has made much use of them, and copiously illustrated their nature and their value; and Mr. Foxton, jun., of the Exchequer Office, is now proposing to publish a lithographed edition of the whole of the Roll attributed to the 5th of King Stephen; and is also making me a copy of the whole Northumberland series, from the beginning of them to the end of the reign of Henry the Third, which I am procuring for the purpose of working up its contents into the History of that county, with which I am now engaged.

JOHN HODGSON.

[E Rot. Pipe de primo dimidio anni sexti regni Regis Ricardi primi . Scitt a mense Julii A. D. 1194, usque ad mensem Januarij A. D. 1195.]

Norhymberland.—Hugo Bardulf reddit comp de firma de Norhumberland de dim anno . In thro lxxvi fi & iiij s. & ix. d. ñuo.

Et in elem constit milit de Tempt i. m. . Et capelle de Finchat xviij. d. de dim anno . Et in libat constit Johi Canuto xxx § & v. d. de dim anno . Et in quiet tre Rogeri Flamavitt xx. s. de dim anno . Et in tris dat Regi Scot C. s. de dim anno . Et Hug Bard xv. ti. ad Custod Novi Cast' sup Tinam de dim anno . Et Robto fit Rogi xvj. ti. & xij. d. in Werkewurda cū ptinencijs de dim anno . Et in reparat domoq Regis in Novo Cast' sr Tinā xxviij. s. & ij. d. p br. k . Et in defalta instaur de Baenburg p iij carrucis xv. s de dim anno . Et p xx vaccis ibid x. s. de dim anno . Et p xx scrophis ibid x s. de dim anno . Et p CCC ovib xxxx. s de dim anno . Et Quiet est.

De psturis & Escaetis . Id vic redd comp de xxiij. ii. & xj. s. & ij. d de firma pstura? . In thro viij. ii. & xiij. s. & vij. d . Et in terris dat Sewalo servienti Reg xiiij. ii. & xvij. s. & vj. d. de dim anno . Et Quiet est.

Rob sit Odinelli de Umfranvitt redd comp de C. 3. de debito Rad Vinitoris p recto. In thro libavit. Et Quiet? est Walts Bruis redd comp de xiij. 3. * iiij. d p recto de xxv. m. In thro iiij 3. Et debet ix. 3. * iiij. d . Villata de Walebota deb xl 3. p diss q assis. Rad sit Main redd compot de j. m. de ij m. quas acceperat de molend Waldevij. In thro libavit. Et Quiet? est. Galfr de Torp deb lx. ti. * xiij. s. * iiij. d. q. cep sinē suū de plac de Rap anq m Rex hret sinē suū. Id vic redd comp de iij 3. * iiij d. de Villata de Etlingehā p wasto bosci. In thro libavit. Et Quiet? est. Robt? de Insula deb iiij. ti. p inda recogn de morte avuncti sui de villa de Angerton * de Hydewin vsus Waltm de Bolbec.

De Tallağ dñio 4 & terra 4 Regis de Norhumbrland p Godefr de Luci & soc suos . Id vic redd comp de ix. ti & iij. s. & iiij. d. de hôibz de Baenburc de dono . Et de xxij s. & ij d de Stodesdon . Et de xxvj. s. de Sunderland . Et de xxx. s. de Gospat'cio Dreng . Et de iiij. ti. & v. s. & iiij. d. de Spindlestan . Et de lxij. s. & x. d de Roebira . Et de xvj. s & x. d. de Torpinton . Et de xiiij s. & vj. d. de Yetlington . Ed de xvij. s. de dono hōium de Luuerbotle . S' xxij. ti. xviij. s . In pdoñ p br k pdcis hōibz xxij ti & xviij s . Et Quiet? est.

Item Tallagiū de Drengis comitat? de Norhumbland & de Theinis . Id vič redd comp de C. ti & lxvj. §. & xj. d. de Tallag Drengoy & Theinoy q° noīa annotant' in scdo Rotulo reg Ric . In pdoñ p pdcm br pdcis Drengis & Theinis C. ti & lxvj. § xj. d . Et Quiet? est.

Samuel Juds de Novo Cast° deb xx. m. q, vocav warantu q hre n potuit. . + Sun fit Godefr deb xx. s. viij. d. p hendo plac suo vsus p'orem de Hextoldesham . Rob de Berchlay deb xl. s. p diss . + Elias de P'ston deb dim m p def . Uctred Strie debet iij. s. p fta psent plac . Villata de Wulloura xx. s. p fta psent . Villata de Nordcoket red comp de lvij. s. vij d p eod . In thro xlv s viii d . Et deb xj. s. vij. d . Id vic redd comp de xvij. s. vij. d. de Wilio de Sunvitt p eod . Et de j. m. de Adam de Dod p vino vend qt assis . Et de j. m. de villata de Hadeston . Et de ix. s. viii. d de Wilto fit Obinisi de Robira p viridi . Et de x. s. de Robto Bert m

p def . Et de x. 3. de Robto de Rue p eod. . In thro libavit in . . . tallis . Et Quiet? est.

Anffred fit Kettelli redd comp de j. m p venaf q cep de Lepsis . In thro x. s. . Et deb. iii s. * iiij d.

DE OBLATIS.—Robtus de Muscans redd comp de CC. m. p Relevio * fine tre sue In thro C. * iiij. ti. * xix. \$. * iiij. d. Et deb xxviij. ti. * vij. š. * iiij. d. . Et in pdonis p br R ipi Robto xxviij. ti. * vij. š. * iiij d. p xxviij ti. * vij. s. * iiij d. q reddite fuert de catalt ipis Robti venditis p manū Hug de Nevill . Et Quiet? est . Rad Hairon deb xl. s. p recto + Id deb x. m. p recogn hnda de tra de Mulesfen utrū hat majo jus ad tenend eam de Rege an Rex ad hndū eam in dñico. Rad fit Main redd compot de xl m p hndis custod hedu Rad de Caugi . In pdon p br R ipi Rad xl. m. . Et Quiet? est. . Nichot de Morewich reddit compotu de CC. m. p hnda custod Nepot suo2 . In thro libavit . Et Quiet? est . Gospatici? de Brometoñ redd comp de xx, d. p recto. In thro libavit. Et Quiet? est. Hug Dunelmsis epc . D.C. m. p escamb de Satherge . Id epc . m. m. marc p comitatu de Norhumbland hndo . Id epc . lx. m. q's Rob de Muschans pmisat. Rad fit Maiñ redd comp de xl. s ut sc'haf in Rotulo q, sit q'et? de xl. m. q's pmisit p hnda custod hedu Rad de Caugi q'a custod illa n huit eo qd Epc Dunetm ea huit c Norhumbland . In thro libavit . Et Quiet est . Adam de Lemeston redd comp de ij. m. p recto. In thro libavit. Et Quiet? est . Gilbto de la Lega debet xx. fi. p hndis fris q's Rex ei dedit . S3 reddidit in comp in Rotulo de Everwichs Quarti anni reg Ric & ibi Q'et? est . Helewisa de Tindala debet q'ter xx. m. p se maritanda ubi volilit & p hnda custod hedis sui . Sz debnt reg'ri ab Epo Dunelmsi q eas recepit.

Nova Oblata post reditum Regis ab Alemannia. Rić de Umfranvilla redd comp de C. ti. ut Rex ocedat ei finem tre sue q fecit cu epō Dunelmsi qu. Comitat? de Norhumbland fuit i manu sua * ut n hat malevolentia k de eo qd n t'nsfretavit in Normannia. In thro qu xx. ti. * C. * vj. \$. * viij. d. . Et deb xiiij. ti. * xiij. \$ * iiij. d. . Sz redd opot ifra . Rogs de Merlay redd comp de xx m. ut remaneat ab

excitu Norm . In thro libavit . Et Quiet est . Robtus de Muscans redd comp de xx. fi. p eod . In thro x. fi . Et deb. x. fi. Sz redd comp infra . Rad de Calgi red comp de lx. m de fine relevii sui . In thro xx m . Et deb xl m.

Id vic redd comp de xij. ti. & iiij. s. iiij. d. de exitu tre ade de Tindala de dim anno . Et de ix. ti. & vij. s. & ix. d de exitu tre Rad de Caugi de dim anno . In thro libar in ij tatt . Et Quiet? est.

Scutag. de Norhumbland qd io reddr in j. sūma q. Comitat? fuit ī manu Epi Dunelmsis a q° receptū fuit scut & io ñ potuit distingui p Baronias. Id vic redd comp de lxxvij. ti. & xiij. s. & iiij. d. de scut Militū de Norhumbland ad redemptionē dñi reg. In thro lj. ti. & xix. s. & v. d. Et deb xxv. ti. & xiij. s. & xi d.

Id vic redd comp de xxvij. ti. * vj. \$. * viij. d de catallis Flandrensiū venditis . In thro xix. ti. * vj. \$. * viij. d. . Et deb viij. ti q's Alan? Trenchem * Magr Gervas de Houb'gge * Ric Cakuel * Ric de Fremingehā recepert * in debent respondere . Walts de Bolebech redd comp de C. ti p fine tre sue . In thro xx ti . Et deb q'l xx. ti . Rob. de Muscans redd comp de x. ti. ut remaneat ab excitu Norm . In thro x. m. . Et deb. v. m. . Id redd comp de eod debito . In thro liberavit . Et Q'et? est . Ric de Umfranvilla redd comp de xiiij. ti. * xiij \$. * iiij. d. ut rex qcedat ei fine tre sue q fecit c Epo Dunelmsi . In thro liberavit . Et Quiet? est . Adam de Tindala redd comp de C. ti. p fine q fecit p hnda tota tra pat's sui q'm ipe huit die q' obiit * p relev suo . In thro l. ti. . Et deb. l. ti.

Rotulus Escaetarum & Wardarum de Quibz Hugo Bardulf respond.

—Norhumberland. —Hugo Bard redd comp de xlij. ti. & vj. s. & iiij.
d de firma tre Witti Bert m de dim anno affirmata p Epm Dunelm.

In thro liberavit. Et Quiet est. Id redd comp de xxv. s. & iiij.
d. de firma tre Ric le Masle in h comitatu de dim anno affirmata p
pdcm epm. In thro liberavit. Et Quiet est.

[Visus compot vic toci? Angi de rmino Pasch anni regni Reg Johis vij^m.]

Norhūblad. Rob fit Rogi de firm de Norhūbland.-In thro.-Et Quiet est.

Norhumberland.—Robt? fit Rogi. Angot? de Corf p eo redd comp de CC & xl ti. & xviij s. & iiij d. nũo de firm' Comit. In thro C & iij s. & vij d. Et in elemos ostitut milit de Tempt j m. Et Capellano de Finchal iij. s. . Et ī libatõne ostituta Johi Canuto lx s. & x d. Et ī quiet tre Rogi de Flamavitt xl s. . Et ī tris dat Ros m Rogi iij ti. & x s. ī Werkewide cū ptinenciis. Et Witto Bardulf l s. ī Theinagio q Witt fit Witti tenuit ī Heppedat & Cokedale cū ptinenciis. Et epo Dunhelm xxiij ti. & xiiij s. & iij d. ī Wapentac de Sebge. Et pdco Robto fit Rogi xxx. ti. ī Neweburn.

Et p galeis faciend liiij ti. & xiiij d. p br G. fit Pet' qd attulit de de q̃b° pl° ei n̄ locabit̃ oputand ei C. m ad galeas faciend , ≈ xxv. m. ad trencheas faciend. Et ī Bdčis trencheis xxv. m. p Bdčm br . Et tribus balistariis cū binis eq's vj. ti. \neq vj \tilde{s} . p xlij dies de libatone sua p br R . Et Ailmaro Balistar lv s. p lv. dies p iđ br . Et Reimūd xlviij s. p xlviij dies . Et t'bz aliis balist iiij ti. * xix s. p xxxij dies p id br . Et cuida alii cū t'bz eq's xi fi. & xij s. & vj d. p C. & q't xx & vj. diebz p id br . Et xx servientib; peditib; ad libatõnes suas xiiij fi. * vj s. * viij d. de q*t xx & vj diebz scit cuiq, ij d ī die p id br & p br R qd br pcipit libatones fi x balist & iij svientibz eq tibz & xx aliis svientibz peditibz de qo nuo x balistar no ven n' iij svientes eq'tes . Et i reparacone dom 2 R i novo castell sup Tina xv s. p br & . Et deb xvij li. * xiiij s. * viij Iđ r op eod deb . In the nich . Et i počis Trencheis vij ti. x xiiij s. * viij d. p br G. sit Pet! . Et deb x ti. . Id r cop de eod debit . In th nich . Et ipi Robto in Corbrig xxij ti. & x s. de t'bz ptibz ani p br R de q'bz resp infra . Et eide xv ti. i Robir de eisc rminis p br ej?d & am° totū . Et ht de suppl? xxvij ti. & x s. q̃ locant' VOL. II.

ei infra . Witts de Stutevite deb xxix ti & xviij s. & ix d. & ob de firm comit de dim anno scdo . Id vic r comp de j m de q da domo q fuit Witti fit Erenbald . In thro libavit . Et quiet est . Galfr de Torp r comp de lviij ti & xvi s. & viij d. q. cepit fine sic q r lk p mo . In th xx s. Et deb lvij ti. & xvj s. & viij d. D' q b deb redde p ann xx s. . Rob fit Rogi r. comp de xxij ti. & x s. de firm de Corbrig de t b z ptib z anni . Et de vij ti. & x. s. de cmto ej d manii de eisd tmin . In th nich . Et z suo suppl q, ht sup xxvij ti. & x s. . Et deb l s. . Id r op de eod deb . In th libavit . Et Quiet est.

De ppstur & Escaetis. Id vic r. comp de xlvij ti & ij s. & iiij d. de firm ppstura . In th x ti. & ij s. & iiij d . Et in tris dat Sewalo svienti k . xxix ti & xv s. . Et Eustach de Vesci vj ti & xviij s. & v d. ī Spindlestan . Et deb dim m. Et dim m de anno prito . Id deb ij m. & dim de remanenti ej dē firm de pribz annis . Johes fit Hugon deb v m. sic qr ī k viij . Rogs fit Gerard r comp de xxiiij ti. & vj s. & viij d. p hnd bnvot k sic qr in k scdo . In th xl s . Et deb xxij ti & vj s. & viij d . Rob fit Rogi deb xx s. de t'bz scut k Ric . Thom de Amūdevitt deb xl s. de scdo & tcio scut.

De p'mo scut k. J. Rob fit Rogi deb ij m sic ǫt in k v°. Rogs de Mlai deb ij m de eod. Walts Carun deb ij m de eod. Ric de Umframvitt deb v m de eod. Alex de Bradefeld deb ij m de eod. Thom de Amūdevitt deb j m de eod. Walts fit Gilebti de Bolun deb vj m de eod. Eustach de Bailloel xl m de eod. Et C & lx m q n fuit ī svic k ult mare. Gileb de Lasci l. m & j palef ut sit dnic cticus k sic ǫt ī k v°. Hug de Morewic r comp de ij m de p mo scut. In th j m. Et deb j m. Id redd ǫp de eod deb. In th libavit. Et Quiet est.

Com Thom Pat'ci? det xl. m. iiij palefr p hnd recogn sic et i k iij. Adā de Calgi det x m p hndo reto sic et ibid.

Id vic r comp de viij d de Pra Tursin . Et de xxiiij. s. de hoibz de Jakelinton ut sīt ī ptectone R q's debnt redde p ann . In th libavit ī ij t . Et quiet? est.

Iđ vic . lviij s. & iiij đ. de cornag de anno iiij . Et C. s. de cornag p'mi scdi & ani cii q' st sup tras Reg Scotie . Et lvij s. & iiij đ. de

anno prito. Com Pat'ci? r. comp de xl m * iiij palefr sic sup' q'i . In th nich. Et ipi Comi i pdon xl m * iiij. Palefr p br k . Et quiet? est.

Id vic r op de xx ti de cornag . In thro xvij ti. * ij. \$. * viij d . Et deb lvij \$. * iiij * . Witt fit Walti deb x m. p hnd littis sic of ī k v Rob de Muscamps xx m. de pstito . Witts de Bikere r comp de v. m. p hnd ptib3 motnd de Gesemue sic of ī k pced . In th libavit . Et quiet? est.

De quarto Scut.—Adam de Tindal r comp de C. s de eod . In thro libavit . Et quiet est . Rob fit Rogi deb ij m de eod . Rob fit Witti deb ij m de eod . Walts fit Gileb deb ij m de eod . Witt Bard deb xx. m. z j. palefr p tenend tra sic ot ī k scdo ī Evwicsir.

De oblatis.—Com Pat'ci? det x m. * ij brachetos * vj leporar p hnđ īq'sicone sic of ī k pceđ . Alex Capell r op de dim m p hnd bri sic of ibiđ . In the libavit . Et quiet? est . Will de Ravenestum * Ysabel ux ej? r opotu de j m p hndo pcipe sic of ibiđ . In the libavit . Et quieti sunt . Helewisa de Tindal p sic qđ n dist'ngat sic of ibiđ . In the nich . Et ī pdonis ipi H. xx m p br k p finē Rob viri sui sub-

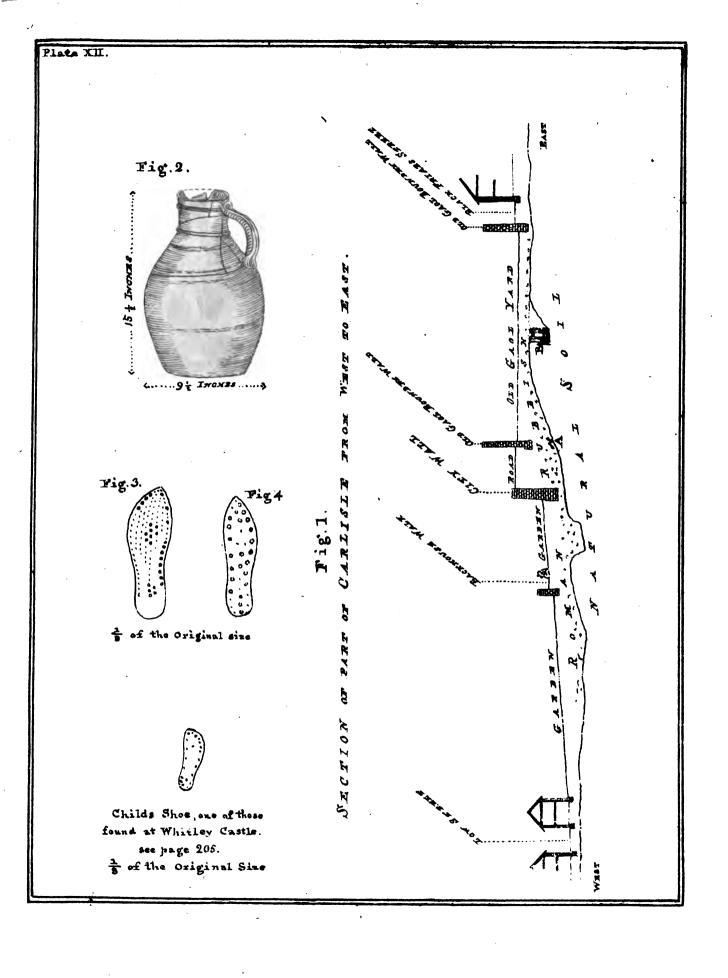
In the nich . Et i pdonis ipi H. xx m p br k p fine Rob viri sui subsc'ptū . Et quieta est . Rob fit Willi deb cia pte xxx marca p q
adq'rere portit vsus Godefr Malduit . Amota fit Willi fit Willi r op
de j Palefr p hnd pcipe sic of ibid . In the v. m p palefr . Et
quieta est . Galfr fit Galfr deb xx m p sic qd loqla n pcedat sic of
ibid.

De quinto Scut ass ad ij marc & dim.—Rob de Cramavitt r comp de xv m de f' iij mit . In th xl s. . Et deb xij m . Rob de Trokelawe deb iij m. p drengag . Hug de Bailloel deb l. ti andeg sic of ī k pced . Id vic r comp de dim m de Johe fit Sim p lic ocord Et de dim m de Vincenc de Witingha p eod . Et de dim de Teob de Scotton . In th libav ī iij t . Et quiet est.

Nova Oblata.—Adā de Tindat r̃ comp̃ de xx m̃ p lic̃ qc̃ cū Rob fit Ade de placito apthi. In the libavit. Et Quiet est. Ep̃s Norwic̃ r̃ comp̃ de uno bono palef r̃ electo p Witto de Ford qd ip̃e ñ ponatī assīs vt recognic̃. In the v. m̃. Et deb ij m̃. æ dim̃. Id r̃ qp̃ de eod deb. In the libaṽ Et q'et est. Ric̃ de Umframvitt deb j

palef p îndo b i de pace p Rad Taillard senescait su q n potuit h re n' p i p n p sona de medietate viti de Netherton de q ten es est p p n se in ı magna as . Rob fit Ade r opotu de xl m p înd tra sua ı Tindat a Helewisa uxore sua a catalt q in amota s . In th xx m . Et deb xx m. . With de Latton deb C. m ut duella pcedant q vadiata fuert i i p m With petente a Galf it Galf ten et de vij car î re c p tin ı Silkeswurd a de vij car î re c u p tin ı Horden.

D finibz & scut vj° Mit assiso ad ij marc.—Id vic r. comp de xxx m de Walto de Bolebec de fine suo . Et de xv. m. de Johe le Vescunte p eod . Et de x m. de Ada de Tindat . Et de x. m de Hug de Morewic . Et de de Rob de Muschans . Et de xx m de Gileb de la Vat de eod . In the libavit i vi tat . Et quiet? est . Rad de Kaugi xx m. de fine suo . Rob de Muschans viij m. de scut . Ric de Umfranvill r comp de xl m de fn suo . In th xxx m . Et det x. m. . Id vic r comp de ij m de Alex de Bradeford de f j? mit . Et de viij se xd. de Thom sit Rob de tcia pte jo Mit . Et de viij m. de Rogo de Mlai de iiij feod Hairun de f j? mit . Et de vi m. de Rob btram de f iij mit . Et de ij m. de Rogo fit Rad fit Main de f j⁹ mit . Et de iiij me de Rob de Ros de ij f . Et de xxiiij Vesci de f xij mit . Et de xvij š. ≆ ixđ. de Rič sup Teise de ij ptibz f j⁹ mit . In the libavit ī x. t . Et quiet est . With Bard ij m de f j? mit . With Briewe det x m de v feod. q'et p br R . Isti Int Quiet p bria . Rob fit Rogi . Hug de Bailloel . Walts fit Gilet r comp de x m de f iij mit . In thro libar. Et quiet est. Eustaci de Vesci r cp de xl m de fn suo. In th iiij m. p man vic Eboy. Et deb xxxvj m. Rob de Ros r op de lx m. de fn suo. In th iiij ti & j m p man ej?d. Et deb liij m. . Iđ rõp de eod deb . In thị m p viế Line . Et deb lij m . Jordan⁹ Hairuñ iij m de eod . Ric sup Teisia r 9p de ij m de eod . In th lib. Et Quiet est. Rogs de Mlai r op de xx m de fine. In th $x \tilde{m}$. Et deb $x \tilde{m}$. Thom de Deueleston xx s. de eod. Rob sit Rogi deb j pales p Pet de Mallai.



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XLIV.—Account of an ancient Pitcher, found in digging the Foundation for the New Gaol, at Carlisle, in a Letter to John Adamson, Esq., Secretary, by Mr. C. Hodgson.

SIR,

This Pitcher (Plate XII. Fig. 2,) was found in digging the foundations of the boundary-wall, at the new gaol, at Carlisle, in the old gaol yard, and on ground which is said to have formerly been occupied by the Black Friars. It lay at the depth of about 15 feet below the surface, imbedded in black sludge, intermixed with stones and other rubbish, and within a tank (at B in Fig. 1, Plate XII.), composed of square oak frames, covered on the outside with riven oak boards. This tank was about 7 feet deep. Neither a saw or plane seemed to have been used in forming either the boards or frame work of it. Behind the planks, it was stuffed all round with a light blue clay, which is very uncommonly found in the neighbourhood of Carlisle; the clay of that district being all of a red colour, and such as is usually met with in new red sand formations. Besides this Pitcher there was another of similar form and manufacture, but smaller, found with it. Several fragments of red earthen-ware, bearing ornaments in bas-relief, were found in the stratum of rubbish above the tank. One thing which I consider remarkable in this vessel is, its being covered with a glaze, which I suppose is the vitrification of some earth, &c., with a metallic oxide, probably lime and oxide of lead. I believe it is not known where the clay with which the blue-bodied terra-cotta vessels of this kind are made, is found. If this vessel is Roman, I apprehend it was left by the very first settlers in this country; which I infer from the very great quantity of Roman earthen-ware and other antiquities which were found all over the parts about the tank which have been dug into, and in a

stratum of about 4 feet thick over the level part of the ground, 2 feet from the present surface, and over the brow inclining towards the river Caldew, from 12 to 27 feet thick, as in the annexed section. These discoveries were made in the course of digging the foundations of the new gaol. Coins were found in making these foundations, of Vespasian, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Tacitus, &c. &c., and a great quantity of urns containing bones.

The shoe-soles or sandals, sent herewith (Figs. 3 and 4, Plate XII.), were found at A, as dotted on the Section, about 17 feet below the surface. I think they must be Roman, as a quantity of red Roman pottery, &c. was found with them. Their being formed right and left, as well as being studded with hemispherical hob-nails, shews that these contrivances are not of modern invention.*

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant.

C. HODGSON.

* Great numbers of shoes of various sizes, boots, and other articles of leather have been dug out of a very large heap of dung and rubbish, near the ruins of the bath, at the Roman Station, called Whitley Castle, in South Tindale. The shoes are all made right and left, clinker-built, and studded with hob-nails, like the specimens which my brother here describes, and transmitted to the Society. The dung-heap also contains fragments of Roman earthen-ware, glass, and other curiosities. Horses or mule's shoes have been found in it; and in places it is intimately mixed with the moss, called in Botany, hypnum squarrosum, which I suppose to have been used as bedding for the animals that have produced it. It is very remarkable, that the properties of this dung as manure, have been very little impaired, for the proprietor of the ground upon which it is situated, has used it upon his grass land with the most beneficial effects; and thinks it very little inferior for that purpose to fresh stable manure.

J. H., Sec.

XLV.—Account of the Discovery of a Stone Vault and Urn, at Villa Real, near Jesmond, in a Letter to the Secretaries, by Russell Blackbird, Esq.

Villa Real, April 10, 1828.

GENTLEMEN,

In trenching some ground for planting, this morning, we discovered a stone vault, 4 feet long by 2 feet wide, and 20 inches deep, deposited in a dry hard marle below the soil, which we were taking out for making the walks in the garden. It contained the bones of a man, the head, in particular, quite perfect, with all the teeth in it. Also a small urn (of which the annexed is a representation, See Plate XI.), of which I beg your acceptance for the use of the Antiquarian Society. There was some red-coloured earth in the urn which the labourers threw out.

I am, respectfully,

GENTLEMEN.

Yours, &c.,

RUSSELL BLACKBIRD.

XLVI.—A List of the Freeholders of Northumberland, in 1628 and 1638-9. Communicated by John Trotter Brockett, Esq. in a Letter to John Adamson, Esq., Sec.

Albion Place, 1st November, 1830.

DEAR SIR,

I BEG to lay before the Society the copy of a list of Freeholders of Northumberland, in the year 1628, extracted by the Rev. James Raine and myself, from "MSS. Mickleton, No. 9," in Bishop Cosin's Library, at Durham. This highly curious volume, apparently compiled by Sir Thomas Swinburne, of Edlingham Castle, Knt., contains several muniments relating to the office of Sheriff of the county, and concerning the rates and other antiquities, especially for 1628 and 1629, during both of which years Sir Thomas was High Sheriff; also many particulars concerning the Commissions of Array; with letters and original papers connected with the Scottish Rebellion, and the subsequent troubles in the reign of King Charles the First. In a note in Brand's History of Newcastle, vol. ii. p. 454, mention is made of Sir Thomas Swinburne, as Sheriff for 1628, but it is stated, that "in 1629, none occurs." The fact is, Sir Thomas was Sheriff for 1629, as well as for the year preceding. From an entry in the manuscript, in Mr. Spearman's hand writing, it would seem that Sir Robert Brandling, of Alnwick Abbey, was meant to have succeeded Sir Thomas Swinburne, but that he retired into Scotland to avoid the expense of executing the office.

I have also taken the liberty of sending a copy of another list of Northumberland Freeholders, in 1638-9, during the Sheriffalty of William Orde, Esq., extracted from "MSS. Hunter, No. 23," penes Dec. & Cap. Dunelm.

The perusal of these lists affords a melancholy instance of the rapidity with which the human race passes away. It is painful to reflect how few of the male descendants of the persons whose names are here recorded are now seated on the estates of the original possessors. Many families, no doubt, cease to exist by the natural course of events; but the civil wars of the seventeenth century and the rebellions in 1715 and 1745 have largely contributed to this remarkable extinction.

It may be proper to notice, that it has been thought desirable in these extracts to preserve the orthography of the original MSS.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN TROTTER BROCKETT.

FREHOULDERS IN NORTHUMBLAND, 1628.

CASTLE WARDE.

Sr Raiph Delavale, of Seaton Delavale, kt.
Sr John Delavale, of Dissington, kt.
Sr Edward Grey, of Morpeth Castle, kt.
Sr Henry Bavington, of Heton, kt.
Sr William Fenwick, of Meldon, kt.
Robte. Delavale, of Cowpon, esq.
Edward Delavale, of Bebside, gent.
Marke Errington, of Pontyland, esq.
Anthony Errington, of Denton, gent.
Mark Errington, of Howdon Head, gent.
Tristam Fenwick, of Keinton, gent.
Martin Fenwick, of the same, gent.
Anthony Swinburn, Elswick, gent.

Lancelot Ogle, of Burrodon, gent.
Oliver Killingworth, of Killingworth, gent.
Robte. Dalton, of Wetsled, gent.
Lancelot Ogle, of Darrishall, gent.
Cuthbert Ogle, of Kirkley, gent.
Marke Ogle, of the same. gent.
Hugh Gofton, of Benridge, gent.
Marke Ogle, of Carter Moore, gent.
Thomas Fenwick, of Prestick Hall, gent.
James Shaftoe, of Prestick, gent.
Thomas Potts, of the same, gent.
Thomas Gibson, of the same, yeom.
John Pattyson, of Laverickhall, gen.

John Garyner, of Mersfen, yeom. John Preston, of Cowpon, gent. Cuthbert Watson, of the same, veom. Robte. Spraggon, of Whawton, yeom. Lancelot Meggetson, of the same, yeom. John Horsley, of Milburne Grainge, gent. Richard Smith, of Dalton, yeom. Edward Sharprowe, of High Callerton, g. James Shaftoe, of the same, gent. Raiph Middleton, of Edington, gent. John Bell, of Bellassis, gent. Lionell Fenwick, of Blagdon, gent. John Fenwick, of Brinkley, gent. Robte. Fenwick, of the same, gent. Oswould Mitford, of Wetsled, gen. Thomas Dalton. of the same, gen. Thomas Bates, of Hallywell, gent. Robte. Cramlington, of Newsham, gent. Richard Rea, of Horton Grainge, yeom. Bartram Rea, of the same, veom. Robert Shaftoe, of Benwell, gent. Henry Dent, of Byker, gent. *Will. Southgate, of Long Benton.

John Bowe, of Tynemouth, gent. Henry Helme, of North Sheeles, gent. Raiph Read, of the same, gent. John Delavale, of Tynemouth, gent. Thomas Dowe, of Whitley, gent. Thomas Mylls, of Munkseaton, veom. Robert Hall, of the same, yeom. Raiph Fife, of Whitley, yeom. Thomas Rea, of Horton Grainge, yeom. Thomas Akenside, of Eachwick, gent. Henry Thorneton, of Gally Hill, gent. Richard Gofton, of Eland Hall, yeom. John Shaftoe, of Stickley, gent. *Robert Spearman, of Preston, gent. *Will. Southgate, of Long Benton, gent. *Michael Spearman, of Preston, gent. *Michael Milburne, of Chirton, gent. *Ralph Grey, of Preston, gent. *Mark Milbankes, of Chirton, gent. *Roger Otway, of Preston, gent. *Henry Burghill, of Wallsend, gent. *Richard Hyndmersh, of same, gent.

MORPETH WARDE.

Sr. Ephraim Widrington, of Birkheads, kt. Richard Hearon, of Bockenfield, esq. Thomas Ogle, of Tritlington, esq. Robert Widrington, of Plessy, esq. Thomas Lewen, of Warkworth, gent. Thomas Errington, of the Hirst, gent. George Reevley, of Newton Underwood, esq. Thomas Fenwick, of Throple, gent. Robte. Collingwood, of Todburne, gent. Henry Collingwood, of the Whome, gent. Alexander Pott, of Thriston, yeom. Robte. Pott, of the same, yeom.

John Creswell, of Creswell, gent. Raiph Thompson, of Hepscott, gent. Henry Browne, of Creswell, yeom.

Claudius Browne, of the same, yeom.
Roland Archer, of Seaton, yeom.
Henry Widrington, of Hawxley, gent.
Henry Kirton, of the same, gent.
Matthew Wharrier, of Toggesden, yeom.
Gerrard Browell, of the same, yeom.
Edward Patterson, of the same, yeom.
Nicholas Atkinson, of Creswell, yeom.
Thomas Read, of Helme on the Hill, gent.
Raiph Carr, of Eshott, gent.
John Ogle, of Cawsey Pke. esq.
William Lisley, of Shothaugh, gent.
George Wharton, Spitle Hill, gent.
Robte. Sadler, of Longhirst, yeom.
Robte. Straker, of the same, yeom.

Robte. Lawson, jun., of the same, veom. Robte. Wymperley, of Creswell, yeom. Cuthbte. Pve, of Morpeth, Gent, Robert Raymes, of Longwitton, gent. William Fenwick, of Stanton, esq. William Fenwick, of Nunnykirke, gent. John Bulman, of Morpeth, gent. Richard Greene, of the same, gent. Gerrard Redhead, of the same, gent. Lancelot Hatherwicke, of Buller's Greene, veom.

William Hall, of Garrett Lee, gent.

George Fenwick, of Langshawes, gent. \ William Fenwick, of Nunrideing, gent. Laurence Softly, of Morpeth, yeom. Gawen Smith, of the same, yeom. George Birletson, of Woodhorne, yeom. Thomas Story, of Olde Moore, veom. Martin Albon, of Tritlington, yeom. Edward Albon, of Earsdon, veom. Robert Pearson, of the Olde Moore, veom. Robert Urwen, of Morpeth, gent. *John Pye, of Morpeth, gent.

COOKEDALE WARDE.

Sr. Francis Brandling, of Alnewick Abbey, kt. | Lancelot Lisle, of Hayson, gent. Sr. John Clavering, of Callaly, kt. Sr. William Carnaby, of Farneham, kt. Roger Widrington, of Cartington, esq. Robte. Lisle, of Felton, esq. George Collingwood, of Eslington, esq. Robert Haslerigg, of Swarland, esq. Edward Lisle, of Acton, gent. Robte. Clavering, of Brinkburne, gent. Alexander Selby, of Bitleston, esq. Thomas Collingwood, of Great Ryle, gent. Alexander Collingwood, of Litle Ryle, gent. Thomas Unthanke, of Unthanke, gent. Robert Clavering, of Leerchild, gent. Francis Radcliff, of Warton, gent. John Salkeld, of Hull Abbey, gent. Francis Alder, of Hobberlawe, gent. Robte. Clennell, of Clennell, gent. John Hall, of Otterburne, gent. Hugh Parke, of Warton, gent. Alexander Hall, of Brankshawe, gent. Thomas Davison, of Newton, gent. George Selby, of the Coatwalls, gent. Gerrard Hangingshawe, of Harehaugh, gent. Thomas Hall, of Ottercops, gent. Raiph Forster, of Owersgrasse, gent.

Cuthbte. Collingwood, of Ditchburne, gent. Henry Ogle, of Eglingham, gent. Thomas Ogle, of Harcopp, gent. Thomas Hearon, of Crawlaw, gent. Arthur Hebborne, of Hebborne, esq. Jeffrey Proctor, of Shawdon, gent. Francis Collingwood, of Thrunton, gent. Richard Dunn, of Gallowlawe, gent. Francis Collingwood, of Reeveley, gent. Cuthbte. Chesman, of Woodhall, gent. Willia. Widowes, of Alnewicke, gent. Nicholas Forster, of the same, gent. Edward Hall, of Yardopp, gent. Michael Clennell, of Warton, gent. Percival Snawdon, of Bickerton, gent. Alexander Snawdon, of the same, yeom. Willia. Snawdon, of the same, yeom. Michael Elsdon, of the Mote, yeom. Robte. Hall, of Munkridge, gent. Richard Turner, of Burrowdon, gent. Thomas Brigge, of Alnewick, gent. Thomas Partis, of the same, yeom. *Cuthbert Proctor, of Rock, gent. *Geo. Beadnell, of Lemadon, esq. *Geo. Beadnell, gent., son and heir.

TYNDALE WARDE.

Sir John Fenwick, of Wallington, kt.
Sir Edward Radcliff, baronett.
Cuthbe. Hearon, of Chipchase, esq.
Raiph Carnaby, of Halton, esq.
Henry Errington, of Beawfront, esq.
Thomas Midleton, of Belsoe, esq.
Robte. Fenwick, of Bitchfeild, esq.
Lewes Widrington, of Chesburne Graing, esq.
Albony Fetherstonhaugh, of Fetherstonhaugh, esq.

Thomas Blenkinsop, of Blenkinsopp, esq. William Welton, of Welton, esq. William Fenwick, of East Heddon, gent. John Elrington, of Espersheeles, gent. George Blenkinsop, of Billestre, gent. Willia. Charleton, of Hesleside, gent. John Adyson, of Ovingham, gent. Arthur Lee, of Wylam, gent. Arthur Halsey, of Ovingham, gent. Willia. Swinburne, of Capheton, esq. John Swinburne, of Black Heddon, gent. George Hearon, of Kearsley, gent. Griffin Wrinkles, of Harneham, gent. Willia. Aynesley, of Shaftoe, gent. Gawen Aynsley, of Aynesley Hall, gent. John Read, of West Heddon, gent. William Shaftoe, of Bavington, esq. Robte. Widrington, of West Harle, gent. Beniamin Widrington, of Buteland, gent. John Hearon, of Birkley, gent. Henry Widrington, of Collwell, gent.

Raiph Errington, of Bingfield, gent. Nicholas Crane, of Crawhall, gent. Matthew Newton, of Stoxfeild Hall, gent. John Ridley, of the Wall Towne, gent. William Male, of Hardrideing, gent. John Charleton, of Readsmouth, gent. John Ridley, of the Woods, gent. Oswould Fenwick, of the Hugh, gent. George Simpson, of Ovington, gent. John Belly, of the same, yeom. Richard Teasdale, of Slealey, gent. Edward Errington, of Wallichgrang, gent. John Killhill, of Aynick, gent. Richard Carr, of Cootley, gent. Richard Smith, of Aynick, gent. Thomas Charleton, of the same, yeom. Robte. Bewick, of the Close house, gent. Raiph Grinwell, of Corbrigg, gent. William Hudspeth, of Corbrigg, gent. Lancelot Fenwick, of Matfen, gent. John Sanderson, of Heley, gent. Lvonell Winshopp, of Aydon, yeom. John Ridley, of the same, gent. Thomas Errington, of Sandoe, gent. Thomas Rowcastle, of Welton, gent. Willia. Stokoe, of Newbrough, gent. Alexander Ridley, of Whitsheels, gent. Anthony Glenwright, of Newbrough, yeom. Rowland Urwen, of the same, gent. James Carr, of Whitchester, gent. John Fenwick, of Echewick, gent.

BALMBROUGH WARDE.

Sr. Arthur Grey, of Spindleston, kt. Sr. Roger Grey, of Ulchester, kt. Sr. Matthew Forster, of Etherston, kt. John Grey, of Bradforth, esq. John Craister, of Craister, esq.
Willa. Weetwang, of Dunston, gent.
Edmund Rodham, of Little Houghton, esq.
John Carr, of Lesbury, gent.

Ephraim Armorer, of Alemouth, gent.
Thomas Thompson, of Embleton, gent.
Thomas Salkeld, of Fallowdon, gent.
Richard Forster, of Fleetham, gent.
Roland Phillipson, of Rennyngton, yeom.
Samuel Weddell, of Swinhoe, yeom.
Matthew Forster, of Warneford, gent.

Thomas Armorer, of Belford, gent.
John Forster, of Newham, gent.
Thomas Forster, of Brunton, gent.
Alexander Armorer, of Tuggell, gent.
George Lawson, of Newton by the Sea, gent.
John Selby, of Mulsfen, gent.
Thomas Fenwick, of Lesbury, gent.

GLENDALE WARD.

Sr. William Muschamp, of Barmoor, kt... Thomas Carr, of Foorde, esq. John Strother, of Newton, esq. John Selby, of Pawston, gent. Gerrand Selby, of the Harelawe, gent. Raiph Muschamp, of Lyam Hall, gent. Stephen Jackson, of Haslerigg, gent. Alexander Scott, of Yeardle, gent. Robert Burrell, of Milfeild, gent.
Thomas Vnthank, of the same, gent.
Edward Reepley, of Humbleton, gent.
John Orde, of Weetwood, gent.
Robte. Lawe, of Branxton, yeom.
Clement Strother, of Langton, yeom.
William Green, of Akeld, gen.
William Carr, of Hetton, gent.

NORTHUMBERLAND.—A pfect booke contayninge the ffreehold within the countye afores as they are in the sevall wards in the tyme of W^m. Orde, Esq^r heigh Sheriff of the said Countie, and do. 1638-9.

CASTLE WARD.

Sr. John Delavall, of Dissington, knight.
Sr. Nicholas Tempest, of Flatworth (?) knight.
Robrt Mitford, of Sighill, esqr.
Gilbrt. Errington, of Pont Iland, esq.
Lancelott Errington, of Denton, gent.
Marke Ogle, of Kirkley, gent.
Marke Errington, of West Denton, gent.
Lancelott Ogle, of Burroden, gent.
Lancelott Ogle, of Darreshall, gent.

VOL. II.

Martin Fenwick, of Kyneton, gent.
Trestram Fenwick, of Kynton, gent.
Edward Delavall, of Bebside, gent.
Robert Cramlington, of Newsham, gent.
Sr. Will^{m.} Fenwick, of Meldon, knight.
Robert Mitforth, of Mitforth, esq.
Nicholas Thorneton, of Galleyhill, gent.
Raph Middleton, of Truick, gent.
Marke Ogle, of Kirkley, gent.

Marke Ogle, of Cartermoore, gent. John Fenw'k, of Brenkley, gent. Robert Fenwick, of Brenkley, gent. Robert Widdrington, of Plessey, esq. John Bell, of Bellas's, gent. Robert Dalton, of Wesled, gent. Oliver Killingworth, of Killingworth, gent. Will^{m.} Killingworth, of ye. same, gent. Edward Stott, of Walesend, gent. Raph Rede, of Chirton, gent. Thomas Bates, of Halliwell, gent. Robrt Shaftoe, of Benwell, gent. Anthony Swinborne, of Elswick, gent. Henry Anderson, of Quarry House, gent. Henry Horsley, of Milborne grange, gent. Reynold Horsley, of the same, gent. Raph Tompson, of Hepscotte, gent. John Shaftoe, of Prestwicke, gent. James Shaftoe, of the same, gent. Willm. Potts, of the same, gent. John Gardner, of Merisfen, gent. Andrew Gofton, of Benbridg, gent. Richard Gofton, of Ilandhall, gent. Thomas Fenwick, of Prestwick, gent. James Shaftoe, of High Callerton, gent. Edward Shaftoe, de edm., gent. Robert Gofton, de edm., gent. Robrt Otway, of Preston, gent.

Thomas Dowe, of Whitley, gent. Thomas Mill, of Munchseaton, gent. John Bowe, of Tynemouth, gent. Willm Aynsley, of Gallohill, gent. Henry Helme, of North sheels, gent. John Batie (? Bates), of Halliwell, gent. John Preston, of Cowpon, gent. Cuthbt Watsen, of the same, gent. John Preston, of Cowpon towne field, gent. John Patteson, of Stickley, gent. Nicholas Thornton, of Galleyhill, gent. John Fenw'k, of Dalton, gent. Willm. Fenwick, of East heddon, gent. John Rede, of West heddon, gent. Richard Smyth, of Dalton, gent. Thomas Akenside, of Eachw'k, gent. Lancelott Maggetson, of Whawton, gent. Thomas Spraggon, of the same, gent. Will^{m.} Storie, of the same, gent. Richard Hindmers, of Walsend, gent. Thomas Dalton, of Wetsled. Richard Rea, of Horton grainge, gent. Robrt. Rea, de idm, gent. Thomas Read, de idm., gent. Willm. Gofton, of Fawdon, gent. Edward Punshon, of Walsend, gent. George Fenwick, de idm, gent.

MORPETH WARDE.

Sr. Willm Widdrington, of Widdrington, gent. Gawen Aynsley. of Heighlee, gent. Thomas Horsley, of Thislehaugh, esq. Richard Hearon, of Bockenfield, gent. Nicholas Thorneton, of Netherwitton, esq. Edward Fenwick, of Stanton, gent. Robert Widdrington, of Hauxley, gent. Thomas Lewin, of Warkworth, gent. John Creswell, of Creswell, gent. John Errington, of Hirst, gent. Genrge Whauton, of Spittlehill, gent.

Robert Collingwood, of Todburne, gent. Henry Collingwood, of ve. Whembe, gent. Robrt. Rede, of ye. Helme, gent. Willm. Carr, of Eshott, gent. George Lawson, of Ulgham, gent. Matthew Wharrier, of Toggesdon, gent. John Patteson, de idm, gent. Jerrard, Browell, de idm, gent. Henry Johnson, of Acklington, gent.

Willm. Bayrde, of Chevington, gent.

Martin Albone, of Chevington, gent.

Rowland Archer, of North Seaton, gent.

Henry Browne, of Creswell, gent.

Claudius Browne, de id^m, gent.

Robert Wrimprey, de id^m, gent.

Robert Pearson, the elder, of ye old Moore, gent.

Robt. Pearson, junr., de idm, gent.
Willm. Hall, of Hauxley, gent.
Willm. Fenwick, of Nunrydeinge, gent.
Willm. Hall, of Garretlee, gent.
Willm. Lawson, of Langhirst, gent.
Robrt. Lawson, of the same, gent.
Willm. Lawson, junr., of the same, gent.
Robrt. Sadler, of the same, gent.
Robrt. Straker, of the same, gent.
Allen Horsley, of Morrick, gent.

Willm. Spoore, of Langhirst, gent. John Bukman, de Morpeth, gent. Robrt. Lisle, of the same, gent. Edward Urwin, of the same, gent. Richard Greene, of the same, gent. John Greene, of the same, gent. Robrt, Wardhaugh, of the same, gent. Thomas Stokoe, of the same, gent. Edward Bewick, of the same, gent, Robrt. Smyth, of the same, gent. Thomas Watson, of the same, gent. George Marshall, of the same, gent. Richard Todd, of Bullers greene, gent. Thomas Todd, of the same, gent. Walter Trumble, of Middleton, gent. John Hudson, of Hauxley, gent, Henry Kirton, de idm, gent. Robert Spoore, of Throple, gent.

TINDALL WARDE.

Sr. John Fenwick, of Wallington, Knight and John Charleton, of Leehall, gent. John Ridley, of Walltowne, gent.

John Fenwick, of Hexam Abbey, esq.
Cuthbert Hearon, of Chipchase, esq.
Raph Carnaby, of Halton, esq.
Thomas Middeton, of Belshaugh, esq.
Willm. Ridley, of Willomansw'k, esq.
Willm. Shaftoe, of Bavington, esq.
Thomas Blenkinsop, of Blenkensop, esq.
Albany Fetherstonhalgh, of Fetherstonhalgh, esq.

Thomas Lorren, de Kirkharle, esq.
Willm. Charleton, of Heslesyd, gent.
Willm. Carr, of Crawhall, gent.
Henry Widdington, of Blackheddon, gent.
John Swinborne, of Captheaton, esq.
John Butler, of Blackhall, gent.
—— Wrinkells, of Harnā, gent.
Matthew Newton, of Stockesfeild hall, gent.
Cuthbert Fenwick, of Bavington, gent.

John Ridley, of Walltowne, gent. Henry Errington, of Befront, esq. Edward Errington, of Wallick Grange, gent. Robert Willson, of Wallick, gent. Raph Greenewell, of Corbridge, gent. Thomas Hudspeth, de idm, gent. Xpofer Chester, de Aydon, gent. John Ridley, of the same, gent. Henry Shaftoe, of Kearsley, gent. John Robson, of Townchead, gent. John Ridley, of the Eles, gent. John Sanderson, of Hely, gent. Edward Gray, of Bitchfeild, esq. Henry Winshopp, of Aydon, gent. Arthur Halsey, of Ovingha, gent. Michael Welton, of Welton, esq. George Simpson, of Ovington-hall, gent. John Bell, of Ovington, gent. Willm. Hunter, of Bearle, gent.

John Errington, of Whittington, gent.
Will^m Stocko, of Whitechappell, gent.
Henry Stocko, of Newbrough, gent.
Anthony Lanwright, de id^m, gent.
George Tedcastle, of Tedcastle, gent.
Matthew Whitfield, of Whitfield, esq.
John Hearon, of Bircley Hall, gent.
Cuthbert Hearon, of Kirkheaton, gent.
Georg Blenkinsop, of Bellister, gent.
Edward Suerties, of y^a Holehouse, gent.
Peter Newton, of Hyndley, gent.
Cuthbert Newton, of Bywell, gent.

Edward Newton, of Old Redley, gent.
Thomas Hutcheson, of Sandhoe, gent.
Willm. Smyth, of Hanych, gent.
Robert Kell, of the Wall, gent.
John Armstronge, of the Woodsheesheles, gent.
Thomas Rowcastle, of Welton, gent.
Willm. Rowland, of Dotland, gent.
Robert Thirllwall, of Hexā, gent.
Henry Widdrington, of Booteland, gent.
Edward Charleton, of Anton-hill, gent.
Robert Fenwick, of Hexham, gent.
Thomas Woodman, of yethe same, gent.

COC-DALE WARDE.

Sr. John Claveringe, of Calloleye, knight.
 Sr. Francis Brandlinge, of Anw'k Abbey, knight.

Robert Lisle, of Felton, esq. Sr. Willm. Carnaby, of Farneha, knight. Cuthbart Collingwood, of Eslington, esq. Roger Widdrington, of Cartington, esq. Robert Collingwood, of Branton, esq. Robert Claveringe, of Brenkborne, esq. Thomas Selby, Coatwalls, gent. W^{m.} Selby, of Bittleston, esq. Robert Heslerigge, of Swarland, esq. Edward Lisle, of Acton, gent. John Hall, of Otterborne, gent. Henry Collingwood, of Great Ryle, gent. Alexandr. Collingwood, of Little Ryle, gent. Thomas Unthank, of Unthank, gent. George Alder, de Prendick, gent. George Clennell, of Clennell, gent. Hugh Parke, of Warton, gent. Thomas Davison, of Newton, gent. Raph Greene, of Thropton, gent. Robert Davye of the same, gent. Willm. Fenwick, of Burroden, gent. Michael Hindmers, of the same, gent. George Rothforth, of the same, gent.

Willm. Potts, of Farneha, gent. Alexandr. Snawdon, of Bickerton, gent. Willm. Snawdon, de idm., gent. Jerrard Hangingshaw, of the Harehaugh. John Collingwood, of Revely, gent. Robert Collingwood, of Ingra, gent. Georg. Selby, of Coatwalls, gent. Henry Ogle, of Eglingham, gent. George Wray, of Lemadon, gent. Christopher Ogle, of Harup, gent. Raph Collingwood, of Ditchburne, gent. Thomas Huntridge, of Aberwick, gent. Raph Lisle, of Hason, gent. George Lisle, of Newton on ye Moore, gent. Ralph Forster, of Oversgrasse, gent. Roger Manners, of Framlington, gent. Robert Rede, of Guyson, gent. Roger Buston, of Buston, gent. Robert Clavering, of Leirchild, gent. Nicholas Forster, Alnewick, gent. Willm. Woodhouse, of the same, gent. Henry Metcalfe, de idm, gent. John Wanles, of the same, gent. Robert Hall, of Munchridge, gent. Perc. Rede, of Throughead, gent. Alexander Barrow, of Barrow, gent.

Francis Forster, of Buston, gent. Raph Watson, of the same, gent. John Bednell, of the Barnehill, gent. Robert Adston, of Alnewick, gent. John Bell, of Buston, gent. Alexander Hall, of Sappoth, gent.

BAMBROUGH WARDE.

Sr. Matthew Forster, of Etherston, knight.

Sr. Roger Gray, of Ulchester, knight.

John Gray, de Bradforth, esq.

John Salkeild, of Rocke, esq.

Thomas Armorer, of Belford, gent.

Willm. Armorer, de idm, gent.

Richd. Forster, of Newhä, gent.

John Carr, of Lesbury, gent.

Edward Conyers, of Hoppyn, gent.

Edward Gray, of Howick, esq.

Tho. Fenwck, of Lesbury, gent.

— Weetwand, of Dunstan, g.
Tho. Forster, of Bruntō, gen.
Ephrā Armorer, of Alemouth, gent.
Thomas Forster, de Brunton, gent.
John Conyers, de Crookleech, gent.
Rowland Willson, of Renyngston, gent.
John Rodham, of Little Houghton, esq.
Tho. Swinhoe, of Mulsfen, gent.
Samuell Weddell, of Swinhoe, gent.
John Craster, of Craster, esq.

GLENDALE WARDE.

Thomas Carr, of Ford, Esq.
George Muschamp, of Barmore, esq.
Raph Muschamp, of Lyham Hall, ge.
Edward Revely, of Hombletō, g.
Thomas Unthank, de id^m, gent.
Willm. Burrell, de Howtell, g.
Willm. Selby, de Pawston, gent.
John Revely, of Humbleton, gent.

Gilbt Swinhoe, of Chatton, esq.
Robrt. Carr, of Etall, esq.
George Ord, of Sameshouse, gent.
Robert Burrell, of Milnefeild.
Stephen Jackson, de Haslerig, gent.
Oliver Lawe, de Branxton, gent.
Raph Brady, de Woller, gent.
Luke Collingwood, of Lanton, gent.

- XLVII.—A Rental of the antient Principality of Redesdale, copied from an Original Roll in the Possession of William John Charleton, of Hesleyside, Esq., by Mr. R. W. Hodgson, with some Notes by the Rev. John Hodgson, Sec.
- *.* Redesdale, of which Harbottle Castle was the principal seat, was. at the time of making this survey, in the possession of Thophilus Lord Howard, of Walden, by virtue of a grant from James the First: and the gentlemen who made the rental were, I apprehend, a sort of board or commission, for managing his estates in Northumberland. Henry Widdrington was of Widdrington, and the chief of his family: and Sir Ephraim Widdrington, his uncle, and then proprietor of High Trewhit and East Ritton. All I remember to have seen respecting Edmund Sawyer is, that in 1628 he was a knight, and that, in that year there were writs obtained in Hillary term, both by him and Thophilus, Earl of Suffolk, against different persons in Northumberland. Thomas Atkinson is a name I am quite unacquainted with. This document is not only curious on account of the purposes for which it was made, but as a census of Redesdale, and an enumeration of the persons holding property in each village there, in 1618. Sir Robert Bowes, in 1551, in a report of the state of the marches, had described the country of Redesdale as "overcharged with an excessive number of inhabitants, more by many than the profits of the same may sustain;" and, to a person at all acquainted with this district, a slight inspection of this document will convince him that the same evil was still prevailing here in Many of the villages and places here enumerated, are now either wholly destroyed or occupied by one tenant.

A RENTALL of the lordshipp of Harbottle renewed before S'. Henry Witherington knight, S' Ephraim Witherington knight, S' Willm Selby knight, Edmond Sawyer, esq'., ≈ Thomas Atkinson gent., the xxvth day of August 1618 as followeth.

RENTS OF ASSIZE OF FREEHOLDERS: At the feasts of S'. Cuthbert in somer and St. Cuthbert in winter. Lynshields: Roger Witherington esq. for the towneship of Lynshields with Lathalghe xviiid. -Greenchesters: The same for certaine land called Greenchesters. xiid.—Highriding: The same for the highriding late the lands of Edward Dun of Smallburn, ijs.—Davyshields: John Hall of Otterborne for lands web late were the lands of Willim Pott, one Birletson & one Jenyson, xiid.—The same for certeine lands called the Overleame. vijd, Elsden ijs. viijd, Karswelleas xd, Westwoodburne ijs. viijd, & CHESTERHOPPE xxd; viijs xd.—Troughwhen: Percivall Read for the manor & towne of Troughwhen & Bromhope &c, iiijs. ixd.—Otter-BORNE: Gilbert Harle for one messuage in Otterborne, vjs, id.—Els-DEN: Thomas Elsden for certeine lands in Elsden called the highmote * the Shaw late Cicely Elsdens, iiijd.—NEATHERCAIRWICK: Archibald Read for the mannor of Nethercayrewick & certeyne lands called the Colehouse the Colefield Dunnebanck and Dunsfields sometime the land of John Carre and 2 crofts in Elsden sometime dynands lands & certeine other lands those late the lands of Hall, vijs. jd.—Calfe Leas: Willim Carnaby esq. for a peell of land called the Calfe leas, vid.—Els-DEN: Gabriel Hall for a tenement wth. thap tenances in Elsden sometime Robte Halls, ijs.—Crawshawe: Arthure Dun for a tenem'. in Crawshawe, xijd.—Collwellill: David Colwell for one tenem. in Colwellhill & one tenem'. in Farneclough, iiijs.—Hudspeth: Edward Spore Henry Spore Cuthbert Spore John Hedley Willim Hall & John Hall for certeine lands in Hudspeth, iiijd.—Chestrop: George Wann for a tenem'. in Chestrop, xviijd.—Davyshield: Thomas Anderson lard for certeyne lands in Davidshields auncientlie the Andersons, iiijs. vjd.—John Hall sonne of Robert Hall of the hole for certeine lands in Davidshields, vid. Woskershields: Withm. Hall of Woskershields for

certeine lands there, ijs.—The same for a mill there, xijd.—FARNE-CLOUGHE: Willim Hall of Farneclough for certeine lands there late Cocksons lands, xxd.—Neatherleame: Willim Milborne of the Haugh Rowland Milborne & William Stoker of the Nuke for certeine lands in the Neatherleame, iiijd.—Elishawe, Birkhill, Farneclough: Ralphe Hall of Parkehead for certeine lands in Elishawe, viijd.; Birkhill, iiijd; * Farneclough, xvjd; ijs, iiijd.— HAIREHAUGH: Jarrett Hangingshawe for a tenem'. called the Hairehaugh, iijs.—MUNKRIDGE HALL: Roger Hall of the Munkridge hall for certaine lands there, viiid.—Elsden: Jasp Hall of Collelhill for a tenement a water-mill and 2 garthes in Elsden, vjd.—Smalborne: Edward Dun of the Smalborne for Smalborne Trowhen Garret shields & Rochester, xvid.—John Dauge of the Smalborne for a tenem'. there, ijs. viijd.—Chestrop: Robert Read of the Shawe for peell of George Wan his lands in Chestrop, ijd.—Bori-SHIELD: John Hedley & Edw. Hedley for the Boreshield, vs. iid.— TROUGHWHEN: Thomas Read of Troughwhen for certeine lands there, ijs.—Clewfield: Bartholmewe Foster of the Clewefield for a tenem. there, xijd.—Netherclewsfield: John Foster of the Netherclewefield for a tenem'. there, xijd.—ELSDEN: Cuthbert Elsden for a tenem'. called the mote, iiijd.—Withm Hall for a tenemt. in Elsden, xiid.— HOPPERCLOSE: Willim Browne of Harbotle for a close called Hopperclose, iiijd.—John Swayne of Hopperclose for the moyetie of a pcell of land called Hopperclose late John Wilkinsons, iiijd.—Withm Browne for the moyety of a peell of ground in Harbotle called the Hopperclose * another peell called the Stonehouse late Wilkinsons, iiijd.— LAWE MOTE: Cuthbert Elsden of the lawe mote for a tenem'. there late Cicely Elsdens, iiijd.—Chestrop: Robert Foster of Woodburne for a tenement in Chestrop called the lard Wans farmhold, vid.—Robert Foster of Woodburne for a peell of ground in Chestrop called the close peell of Wans Farmehold, ijd.—Hudspeth: John Hall of Hudspeth for a tenement late Jereme Halls & Gawen Halls, id.— ATTERCOPS FREE FOREST: Gabriel Hall for the free forest of Attercops at the Anunciacon of o Lady a sparrow hawke or in money, iiid.—Cars-WELLEAS: Thomas Hall of the Carswell lease for a tenement there peell

of Carswelleas, iiijd.—Barrowe: Percivall Barrowe for a capitall messuage called Barrowe. ijs.—Caldtowne: Archibald Read of Caldtowne for certeine lands there, xd.—Mathewe Read for a peell of Caldtowne, vijd.—George Read for another peell of Caldtowne, vjd.—Robert Read for another pt thereof, iiijd. ob.—Rowland Hogg for another pte of Caldtowne, iiijd. ob.—Withm Hogg for another pte of Caldtowne, iiijd.—Soppat et al': Robert Hall of Munkridge for certeine lands in Soppat, Farneclough & in East & Westwoodburne, ijs. iijd.—Farneclough: Robert Hall for a tenement in Farneclough, viijd.—Blacopp: John Read infant for certeine lands in Blacopp, ijs. vjd.—Cragg: Arthure Read for certeine lands called the Cragge, xvjd.—Thomas Read for a messuage in the Crag called Spittle land, xvjd.—Chestrop: Withm Foster for certeine lands in Chestrop called Spittle land, xvjd.—Michael Foster for certeyne lande in Chestrop called Spittle land, xvjd.—S'm iiij". xjs. vjd.

At the feast of S'. John the Baptist. Rentes of Tenants at will in Muckridge & Stickelhaughe:—Gabriel Hall, xiijs. ixd. ob.—Peter Hall Lionell Hall & Thomas Hall, vjs. ob.—Robert Hall, iijs.—Anthony Hall for halfe a tenem', vjs. vd. ob.—John Hall ats Babbe for the third pte of a tenement, iiijs, iiijd.—Withm Hall ats Withm the Babe for the third pte of a tenem', iiijs, iiijd.—John Hall ats the babe for half a Tenement called the Stickelhuge & pte of Munckridge, vjs. vd. ob.—Gabriel Hall for halfe a tenem'. in Stickelhughe, vjs, vd. ob.—Withm Hall, vjs, vd. ob.—Matthewe Hall, xijs. xjd.—Robert Hall, xixs, iiijd. ob.—Michael Hall, xd.—Matthewe Hall, xijs, xjd.—S'm vh iijs. iiijd. ob.

At the feast of S'. John Baptist. Headshoope* in the peishe vt supra: Clement Pott, ijs, ijd. ob.—Thomas Pott, xviijd. ob.—Gregorie Pott, vijd.—Anthony Pott, vijd.—Gabriell Pott, vijd.—Gabriell Pott Junior, xiiijd.—S'm vjs. viijd.

At the feast of S'. John Baptist. STOBBS: Allen Hedley, vjs.—Thomas Hedley, iiijs. iiijd.—Henry & Gerrard Hedley, iiijs. iiijd.—Nicholas.

^{*} This place on Armstrong and Greenwood's Maps is corruptly called Egypt, and very commonly so by the people in the neighbourhood.

Hedley, iiijs. iiijd; iiijd. p ann. inter eos.—John Hedley viijd.—John ₹ Nicholas Hedley, vjs. viijd.—S²m xxvjs. viijd.

At the feast of S'. John Baptist. Neitherhouses: Thomas Anderson, iiijs, viijd.—George Hedley, ijs, iiijd.—Thomas Hedley xiijd.—John Hedley, xiijd.—David Hedley, xiijd.—and yearly jd to be paid amongst the last three. S'm x' iiijd.

At the feast of S^t. John Baptist. Overhorsley: George Hall, vijs. iijd.—George Coxon, iiijs, viijd.—Clement Coxon, iiijs. viijd.—Michael Hall, ijs. viijd.—Withm Hall, xxd.—S^tm xixs. vjd.—Yairehaugh: Nicholas Hall for a tenem^t. called Yairehaugh vt supra, iijs.—S^tm.

At the feast of S^t. John Baptist. Garrethields: Clement Hall, iijs.—John Hedley, iijs. ixd.—George Read, iijs. xjd.—Archibald Dun, xviijd.—Jerrard Hedley, iijs.—Withm Hedley, xviijd.—James Hedley, ijs. viijd.—Archibald Hedley, vjs. jd.—David Hedley, iijs. vjd.—Thomas Daughe, iijs. vjd.—Withm. Hedley, xviijd,—Michaell Hedley, xviijd.—Clement Hedley, ijs, viijd.—George Read, ijs. vjd.—John Hedley, vd.—Stephen Hedley, xxd.—Thomas Hedley, iijs. ixd.—Peter Dauge, ijs. jd.—John Dauge, ijs. xd.—Roger Widrington esq., xiijd.—Ralph Dauge, xiijd.—S^tm. liijs. vjd.

At the feast of S. John Baptist. Averacres*: With Hall, iijs. iiijd.—Jasper Hall, ijs. vjd.—Thomas Hall, vs.—With Hall, xs. vijd.—Ann Hedley ats Hall, vs.—Gabriell Hall, vijs. vjd.—George Hall, ijs, vjd.—Ralphe Hall, ijs, vjd.—With Hall, xiijd.—S.m. xls.

At the feast of S'. John Baptist. Ports Durtrees: Thomas Hall, viijs, iiijd.—Cuthbert Pott, viijs. iiijd.—Ralphe Pott, vs.—Thomas Pott, vs.—S'm. xxvjs. viijd.

At the feast of S'. John Baptist. PARKHEAD & SHITTELHAUGHE: Ralphe Hall, xvijs, vd.—Withm Hall, vs. xjd.—Thomas Hall, vs.—

^{*} This place, in other parts of this document is called Haver-acres, which I take to be the true name, and to be the same as Oat-acres, for Haver, in many parts of the north of England, is still the common name of Oats. An aver, in Scotland, is a cart-horse, or nag of indifferent quality; and the averia, so frequently mentioned in old writings, were horses and oxen used for ploughing and other husbandry purposes. So that if Aver-acres be the true reading, it might mean Horse-acres. At present, the place is called Over-acres.—See below, under Spithope, "Thomas Hall, of Haver-acres, &c."

Robert Hall, vs.—S'm xxxiijs. iiijd.—Troughwhen: Percivall Read as aforesaid, xiijs. iiijd.—S'm Gressonfield: Thomas Hall for a cottage called Dames Hill at the feast aforesaid; ixs. iiijd. whereof to be abayted j' iiijd for a close called Dames hill and so remains for Gressonfield, viijs.

At the feast of S¹. John Baptist. Todholes: John Lunsden, iijs, iiijd.—John Fargus, iijs. iiijd.—Alexander Hedley, vjs. viijd.—Edward Lunsden, vjs. viijd.—S²m xxs.—...vingburne Sibespourfeild: Jenkyn Anderson, vs. ijd.—Robert Anderson, vs. ijd.—Gabriell Anderson, vjs. xd. ob. q.—Robert Anderson Criple, iijs. vd. q.—S²m xxs. viijd.

At the feast aforesaide. PAUNCHFORD: Thomas Spoore, vjs. viijd.—Allen Wanless, vj. viij.—Sim xiijs. iiiid.

At the feast aforesaid. High Carrick: George Pott, vs. ijd.—Robert Witherington, iiijs. viijd.—Henry Pott, iijs, vjd.—Robert Pott, xviijd.—Anthony Pott, iijs, vjd.—Thomas Pott, ijs. iiijd.—Ralph Pott, ijs. iiijd.—Robert Pott, iijs. vjd.—The said Robert, xviijd.—Sm xxviijs.

At the feast aforesaid. Brenshawe: Thomas Hall, iijs. iiijd.—Willm Hall, iijs. iiijd.—S'm vjs. viijd.

At the feast aforesaid. DUDLEYS: Thomas Hall, iijs. iiijd.—Pearce Hall, iijs. iiijd.—S'm vjs. viijd.—Otterborne: John Hall, iijti. vjs. viijd.—S'm West Otterborne:—John Hall as aforesaid, xls.—S'm.

At the feast aforesaid. BLACK HATHERWICK: With Browne, ijs. vjd.—Allen Browne, ijs. vjd.—Stephen Browne, ijs. vjd.—Anthony Browne Junior, ijs, vjd.—Jane Hedley ats Hall, vs.—Anthony Browne sen. iiijs. vd. ob.—Giles Browne, xiijd. ob.—John Browne, of y Bastall, xxd.—John Browne of Hatherwick, iijs. ixd.—Cuthbt Browne sen. xxijd. ob.—Thomas Browne junior, iiijs. iiijd. ob.—Cuthbert Browne, vjs. viijd.—S'm xls.

At the feast aforesaid. DAVISHIELDS: John Anderson, viijd.—Edward Anderson, xijd.—Jenkin Anderson, iiijd.—S'm ijs.—Woollawe: Thomas Coxson at the feast aforesd, ijs. iijd.—George Coxson,

iiijs. vid.—Linterne Heugh:—Barthof Pott as aforeijs. iijd.—S^{*}m said, xxd.—Thomas Pott, xxd.—Andrewe Pott, xxd.—Sim Knightside: Willim Hall at the feast aforesd, ijs. vjd.—The said William, xviijd.—Edward Hall, vjd.—Andrewe Hall, vjd.—Robert Hall, vs. vjd. West Horsley: With Hall at the feast aforevid.—S'm said, iijs. iiijd. S'm.—Langsheth ats Langshaues:—With Hedley at the feast aforesaid, ijs. vid.—Anthony Hedley, ijs. vid.—John Hedley, ijs. vjd.—Anthony Hedley, xvd.—Ralphe Hedley, xvd.—Sim Lowe Carrick: Arch: Read of Dunshields at the feast aforesaid, iiijs. .—The Hill ats Caresleyfield: Roger Widrington esq. at the feast aforesaid, xvd.—Barthof Pott, iijs. ixd.—Robert Pott, ixs. xiiijs. vijd.—Coxenfield ats Sempfield ats Cleughvijd.—S'm BREY: Barthof Pott, xxd.—Arch: Pott, xxd.—Anthony Dun, xxd. vs.—Hernehouse: Pearce Pott, ijs. vid.—Robert Pott, xvs. —Clement Pott, xvd.—S·m vs.—Smartside: George Cley, Henry Jones, John Read & Robte Hall at the feast aforesaid, iiijs. vid.—Sim Kelley and Burnehope: Thomas Hedley at the feast aforesaid, xvijd. ob.—John Hedley, xvijd.—John Read, ijs. xd.—S'm vs. ixd.—YATESFIELD: Thomas Hall at the feast aforesaid, vs.— Clement Paules, ijs.—Allen Paules, xijd.—S'm viijs.—Elsden: Pearse Hall at the feast aforesaid, ijs.—Michaell Hall, vs. ijd.—Jasp Hall, ijs. xd.—Thomas Elsden, iijs. iiijd.—Willm Hall, viijs.—The said Withm for the High field house, ijs.—Thomas Hall, xd.—Michaell Hall infant, xxijd.—John Hall, xd.—Withm Hall, xviijd.—Sm xxxiijs. iiijd.—Willm Hall for the Toll of Elsden vt supra, iijs, iiijd.— HOLLYDOD ats HOLLIDOD belonging to the Dene house: Clement, Robert & Pearse Pott at the feast aforesaid, iijs. iiijd.—Sm HEARDLAW: Gabriell Pott at the feast aforesaid, vis. id.—Clement Pott, vjs. jd. ob.—Willm Hedley, vjs. jd. ob.—S'm xviijs. iiijd.— EVIXTONS. Barthof Fletcher at the feast aforesaid, vijs. xjd.—George Thurleway, ijs. iiijd.—George Fletcher, ijs.—Willm Fletcher. xd.— Thomas Fletcher, xid.—George Fletcher sen. vijs.—Thomas Fletcher of Dyck, iiis. iiiid.—S'm xxiiijs. iiijd.—Evington als Cleughbrey: John Hedley vt supra, vjs. viijd.—S'm * * Ashtrees: Humphrie

Hedley at the feast aforesaid, ijs. xjd.—Edward Hedley, xijd. ob.—Withm Hedley, xijd. ob.—Reynold Hall, xd.—Sm vs. xd.

At the feast of S' John Baptist. Sciles: Allen Hedley, iiijs. ijd.-Percival Hedley, xvd.—Willm. Hedley, vd.—Thomas Hedley, vd.— Duke Hedley, ijs. jd.—Alexander Hedley, xd.—John Hedley, vd.— Edward Hedley, vd.—S'm xs,—Blackborne peell of the Sciles: John Hedley at the feast aforesaid, xd.—John Hedley of Langsheete, xd.—With Hedley, xd.—Anthony Hedley, xd.—S'm HYERHOUSE: Thomas Read infant for a tenement & certeine lands called Hyerhouse at the feast aforesaid, xs.—Roughfield: Barthof Pott for a peell of land called Roughfield, iiijs.—Grisleys: Allen Wanles & Thomas Wanles for a tenement called Grisleys, xiijs. iiijd.— FAYRESIDE: Allen Wanles for a peell of land called faireside, iijs. iiijd. whereof to be abayted xxd. because the other xxd. is pte of the xs. pd. for Holliburne-foote.—Holliburne-foote:—Gabriell Anderson for a peell of ground in Holliburn-foote, xs.—Sim .—Somer-CROFTE in Davyshields: Edward Anderson for a peell of a peece of ground called Somercrofte, xijd.-Jenkin Anderson for another pcell xvjd.—Litle Ryden: John Hedley, of the said land, iiijd.—S'm infant etal 8 annous for lands in Litle Ryden, iiijs.—Causeclosse: With Charleton for a peell of land called Causeclose, iiijs.—Sm STORIESFIELD: Thomas Wanles for certeine lands called Storiesfield, ijs.—Ralphe Wanles, ijs.—S'm iiijs.—Westwoodburne in Corsenside peishe: Thomas Foster, xijd.—Rhenold Hall, xijd.—Percivall Foster, ixd.—John Foster, iijd.—S'm iijs.—Reedshedd somer pasture. BATENHOPE & COMESDON ijs. wcb is divided as followeth: - Archibald Read, Matthew Read, Robert Read, Edward Read, iiid.; George Read, Thomas Read, iiid.; Thomas Read, John Read, Archbald Read, Clement Read, Archibald Read, Archbald Read jun', vjd.; Tho: Read ats Rapleston, vid.; Tho: Read y sonne of Jo: Read, ijd.: John Read, jun', ijd.; Humphrie Read, ijd.—The Whitlee & Reedshawe, xijd. This to be divided according to the ijs. abovesaid.—Lunsden somer pasture. The rent in all is, vs. viz.: - Percivall Read, ijd. ob.; More, vd.: Gabriell Read, ijd. ob.; Archbald Read, ijd. ob.; Nicholas Read, ijd. ob.; VOL. II.

Clement Read, ijd. ob.; Roger Read & Willim Read, ijd. ob.; Robert Read, xd.; Peeter Read, xd.; George Read, vd.; Robert Read, jun. vd.; Peeter Read & Thomas Read, xd.—RAMESHOPE son pasture. The rent in all is, vs. viz.:—John Foster, xxd.; Barthof Foster, xxd.; S'. John Foster, xd.; S'. Henry Witherington & Richard Foster, xd. -Spithope & Burnies: The rent in all is, vijs. viz.:-Tho: Hall of Hadacres, ijd. 1 jd.; Jasp Hall, ijd. 1 jd.; John Hall, ijd. 1 jd.; Edw: & Humphrie Hall, iijd. ob.; Ralphe Hall of Farneclughe & his 4 brethren, vijd.; Roger Hall of Munckridge, vijd.; Anthonye Errington of Denton & Roger Hall, iijd. ob.; Clement Hall, Roger Hall, John Hall, James Hall, Peeter Hall, ijs. iiijd.; whereof Anthony Hall, Robert Hall, William Hall, John Hall, have } pte viz.: John Hall the halfe and the rest the other halfe; Edward Hall of Yerdhope, } pte; Clement Hall, } pte; Randall Fenwick gent, † pte; Ralphe Hall, William Hall, John Hall, I pte of wth John hath solde his pte to Clement Hall; Michaell Hall of Elsden, vijd.; Jasp Hall of Ryleys, vijd.; John Hall of Flatts, iijd. ob.; Tho: Hall of the same, iijd. ob.; With Hall, Nichot Hall, Anthony Hall, Oswald Hall, viid.; Robert Hall, xiiijd.; Gabriell Hall, xiiijd,; Cottenshope som pasture. The rent in all, xs. For Cottenshope head, iijs iiijd.; viz.:—Thomas Hall, ijd. ob.; Edward Hall, ijd. ob.; Edward Spore, xd; Archibald Spore, 1 pt of xd.; George Spore & John Spore, 1 of xd.; Thomas Spore & Dandy Spore, theise two have halfe \(\frac{1}{2} \) of xd. & of the other halfe Archibald is to have halfe * George * John halfe; Henry Spore, vd.; Robert Spore, vd.; With Hall & John Hall, ijd. ob.; With Hall, Percivall Hall, Ralphe Hall, John Hall, Henry Hall, ijd. ob.—Cottens-HOPE MIDDLE Q'TER iijs. iiijd. viz.:—Gabriell Hall of Attercops, xvid.; Withm Hall, Robte Hall, Edw: Hall, John Hall, ijd. ob.; Withm Hall, ijd. ob.; Oswald Hall, Edw: Hall, Andr. Hall, Robert Hall, vd.; Edw: Hall, Roger Hall, Withm Hall, Giles Hall, George Hall, xiijd.— Cottenshope Nether Q'ter als Hollingburne foote, iijs. iiijd. viz.:-Gabriell Hall, xiijd. ob.; Roger Witherington Esq., vjd. ob.; Roger Witherington, vd; Roger Witherington, vd.; Wiffm Hall & Giles Hall of Yerdhope, iiid. 1 jd.; Withm Hall, of Knightside, iiid. 1 jd.; Roger Widdrington esquier, iijd. i jd.—Akenside som pasture. The rent in all, vis. iiijd. divided in 4 qters:—1. The first qter called Akenside, Mr. Roger Witherington, xixd.; 2. The Cragge shields, Henry Pott, viid. ob. 1 ob.; Gabriell Hall, iiijd.; Thomas Pott & Ralphe Pott of Righead, vd. ob.; M'. Roger Witherington, ijd. want & of ob.; 3. The Bentes, George Pott, vid. 3 of ob.; M'. Roger Witherington, iiid. ob. b ob.; 4. The Seaven Sykes, Percivall Pott, iiid.; M. Roger Witherington, iiid.; Robert Pott & Ralphe Pott, iiid.; Gabriell Pott & Anthony Pott, jd. ob.; Gabriell Pott junio, jd. ob.; Tho: Pott of the Cragge, Gregory Pott, Clement Pott, George Pott, iijd.; The said Clem. for p pchase, iijd.; All the saide pties, jd.—EARLSYDE som pasture, The rent in all, xs. viz.: - Withm Hall of Hatlakers, John Hall, Edw: Hall, Hall sons of George, ½ of ½ of the 1 pt of viijd.; Willim Hall & viijd.; Withm Hall sonne of Tho: 1 of 1 of viijd.*; Withm Hall of Hadacres by purchase, & pte of viijd,; Percivall Hall of Elsden, viijd.; Gabriell Hall, & Michaell Hall, viijd.; Percivall Hall, xxd.; Ralphe Hall, Anthony Hall, Stephen Hall, Ralphe Hall of Earleside, viiid. whereof the first 3 have sold their pte to Willim Hall of Hadacres: Peter Hall, Lyonell Hall, Tho: Hall, iiijd.; Nicholas Hall, Robert Hall, ijd.; Tho: Hall, ijd.; Withm Hall of Munckridge of the towne end, vid.; Robert Hall, vid.; Robert Hall of Munckridge, ijd.; Percivall Hall, iid.; Roger Hall of Rochester, xd.; Thomas Hall of Rochester, vjd.; Willm Hall of Farneclugh, ijd.; John Hall of Hudspeth, jd.; Percivall Hall of Ryding, jd.; Ralphe Hall of Richester, Michaell Hall, John Hall, Mark Hall, Wiffm Hall ≈ Matthewe Hall, ijd of we the 2 last are to have 1; M'. Roger Witherington, ob.; Willm Hall, ob., Robert Hall, jd, Gabriell Hall, vjd. ob., John Hall called the Babbe, iiid. q', Jasp Hall the Babbe, iiid. q', Withm Hall the Babbe, vid. of, * of more amongst them.—Chetelhope somer pasture. The rent is in all, vs. viz.: —Anthony Browne of Hatherwick, vijd. ob.; Giles Browne, vijd. ob.; John Browne, iijd. ob. q'; Tho: Browne, jd. ob. q'; Withm Browne. iijd. ob. q'; Stephen Browne, iijd. ob. q1; Allen Browne, iijd. ob. q1; Anthony Browne, iijd. ob. q1;

^{*} How well these border thieves understood vulgar fractions!

Cuthbert Browne, vd. ob. q2; The said Cuthbert Browne, Thom: Browne and Jo: Browne, iiid. ob. q'; Mark Browne of the Brigge. iiid: Cuthbert his brother, iid. ob.; Jenkin Browne, iid.; Anthony Browne of the Brigge, iiid. ob. q. — CATCLEWGHE soul pasture. The rent is in all, iiis. iiiid:—Thomas Hall of Burdhope, vid. & d of ijd.; George Hall of the same, vid. & s of ijd.; John Hall, Clement Hall, Anthony Hall, vid, & 1 of ijd.; Tho: Read, Jo: Read, infantes, xd.; John Hedley, xd.; Thomas Hedley, vd,—Deedwood Somering. The rent, iiis: -- Michael Hedley, John Hedley, Thomas Hedley, iiijd. ob.; Rhenold Hedley, iiijd. ob.; Henry Hedley, iiijd ob.; Thomas Hedley, John Hedley, Willm Hedley, iiijd. ob.; Thomas Hedley of Netherhouses, ixd.; Willim. Hedley infant, iiijd. ob.; Dandy Hedley, id. ob.; Archibald Foster, iiid.—BLACKBURNE pcell of the Siells. The rent is, xxd. viz.: -Gabriell, Hedley, xd.; Edward Hedley, xd.—BLACKBURNE HAUGHE som pasture. The rent in all, iijs. viz.:-Thomas Hedley, iiijd. ob.; John Hedley, iiijd. ob.; John Read, iiijd. ob.; Thomas Read, iiijd. ob.; Humphrie Hedley, iijd.; Robert Hedley, iiid.; Withm Headley, iiid.; John Headley, iiid.; John Foster, iijd.; Allen Hedley, iijd.—The Rooken som pasture. The rent in all is, iiijs. viz.:—Bartholmewe Fletcher, viijd. & of ob.; George Thirlewell, ijd. ob. 1 ob; Thomas Fletcher, jd.; Willim Fletcher, jd.; George Fletcher, ixd.; Litle George Fletcher, ijd.; Thomas Coxon of Ratenrawe, ob. q²; Math: Coxson, ob. q²; George Coxson, ob. q²; Anthony Coxson, ob. q'; John Coxson, iijd.; Percivall Coxson, jd. ob.; Robert Coxson, id. ob.; Archibald Coxson, ijd.; Tho: Coxson, id.; Withm Coxson, Clement Coxson, John Coxson, jd.; Edmond Coxson id.; John Coxson, id.; Edmon Coxson of Elsden, iiid.; John Coxson his brother, iiid.; Thomas Coxson Junior, id.; Mathew Coxson, id.; Robert Coxson, jd.—

At Martilmas. HARBOTTLE TOWNE: Andrewe Routherforth, iijs. vjd. ob.; John Swayne, iijs. ijd. ob.; Thomas Gibson, xviijd.; The said Thomas Gibson, xixd.; George Trumble, xvjd.; Ralphe Smyth, xiiijd.; Withm Gibson, vjs.; John Hatherton, ijs. iiijd.; The foresaid Withm Gibson, ijs.; George Carre, xs. iiijd. q*; Thomas Gibson junior,

xxijd. ob. q'; Alexander Routherforth, ijs. vd. ob.; The said Alexander, ijs. vijd.; Lawrence xvijd.; Mabell Browne, vd.; Robert Swayne, ijs.; Henry Browne, iijs. ijd. ob.; The foresaid Robert Swayne, ijs. iiijd. ob.; George Swayne, xvd.; Robert Browne, xixd.; Anne Smyth, iijs. ijd. ob.; Alice Wabye, ijs.; John Wabye, xxjd.; Henry Browne, ijs. viijd.; The said Henry Browne, xiiijd.; S'm. liiijs. ijd.—Soppethaughe: The saide Tenants of Harbottle for pcell of Soppothaughe somer pasture, iijs. iiijd.

Fee farmes. HARBOTTLE CRAGGS: Percivall Pott for the ground called Harbottle Cragge, at the feast of S'. Luke the Evangelist, iijs. iiijd.

At the feast of St. Michaell Tharchangell. ROCHESTER: Ralphe Hall of Rochester for 2 pts of a messuage in Rochester, vs.; Michaell Hall for the like, iijs. ijd.; Roger Hall for the like, xxs. S'm XXVIIIS. iid.—NETHER ROCHESTER: Thomas Hall of Neather-Rochester for the like, ijs. vjd.; Robert Hall, ijs. vjd.; S'm-Burdhope CRAGG: Edward Anderson for a pte of a messuage there, ijs. viiid.; Thomas Anderson for the like, vs. iiijd.; Robert Anderson for the like, xiijs. iiijd.—Over Rochester: Robert Hall sonne vs. iiijd.; S'm of Thomas Hall for 2 pts of a messuage there, vjs. FILHAUPE: William Wanles for the somerings or highland grounds in Filhoupe, xijd: Durtrees: for a tenement in Durtrees, xiijs. iiijd.; Morerigg: for lands in Morerigg, iijs. iijd.; Storiesfield, ijs.; Toft-BURNE: Somlands in Toftburne, xiijd.; RAWE: Certen lands in the Rawe, xs.; EARDHOPE: Lands in Eardhope, xd.; In all, xxxjs. vjd.; S'mBRIDHOPE: Thomas Hall for 2 pts of a messuage there, vs.; George Hall for the like, vs.; S'm-The Rawe: Withm Wanles, vis. viiid.; S'm —YERDHOPE: Edward Hall for 2 pts of a tenement there, iijs. iiijd.; The same for 2 pts of xixd. ob q' land in Cottenshope, xixd. ob q'; S'miiijs. xjd. ob q'.—Woodhaughe ats Woodhall: Giles Hall, xijs.; George Hall, viijs.; S'm Bellsheele: Anthony Anderson, vjs. viijd. S-m-Yerdhofe: Percivall Pott, xd.; Thomas Pott, xd.; Willim Pott, xd.; Sim ijs. vid.—The Rawe: Percivall Pott, iiijd. viijd.; Clement Bewick,

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xjs. viijd.; Michaell Pott, vijs.; S'm xxiijs. iiijd.—Morerigg: Thomas Hall, viijd.; Andrewe Wanles, xvd.; Thomas Wanles, vjd.; Clement Wanles, iiijd.; S'm ijs. ixd. West Durtrees: Andrew Wanles, vjs. viijd.; Thomas Wanles, vjs. viijd.; S'm xiijs. iiijd.—Toftburne & Tofthouse: Allan Wanles & Tho: Wanles, ixd.; John Wanles, iiijd.; Thomas Hall, iiijd. ob.; Clement Wanles, iiijd.; With Wanles, jd. ob.; Thomas Wanles, iiijd.; S'm ijs. iijd.—Greencroft: John Hall of Otterburne for lands called Greencroft, iijs. iiijd.; S'm.

At Whitsontide & Martilmas: Lease lands in Harbottle. Withm Wanles for one tenement & two ptes of Stewartsheels as it is divided by years, lxvjs. viijd.; The same for the third pte of Erlingborne & Comesmerebanck in Fillup, lxvjs. viijd.; Roger Hall & Ralphe Hall for the third pte of Rochester, iiijti.; Edmond Hall for the third pte of Yerdhope, xxs.; Giles Hall & George Hall for the third pte of Woodhall, xls.; Thomas Wanles & Andrew Wanles for the thirde pte of West Durtrees, lijs. iiijd.; The same for the thirde pte of Morerigg, vjs.; John Hall & Withm Wanles for the thirde pte of Toftburne, xls.; Gabriell Pott, Withm Hedley, & Clement Pott for the thirde pte of Herdlawe; xls.; M'. Roger Witherington for the thirde pte of Burdhope, Burdhope Cragg & Bell sheele, cs.—S'm xxv. ti. xijs. viijd.

	For the Rent of Cottenshope	•	vij v •	7 4 5' *
	Edm:	SAWYER.		
M ^d .			2.	d.
	Rents of Assize of freeholders	iiij : L	xi:	ʻvj d.
•	The Auntient rent of the Tenants at will		xiiij :	
	Tensed Lands	l.	8. Vii •	d. Wiji

XLVIII-An Inquiry into the State of Literature and the Arts among the ancient Tuscans, by J. Mac Gregor, Esq.

In the spirit of conjectural history, it has been a supposition of late, cherished by some among the learned and curious, that the noble piles, whose ruins remain at Pæstum, as well as the various existing monuments of the arts of antient Etruria, have been the product of science and improvement, not derived from Greece or the East, but the native growth of Italy; or, however, that, whether Italy received the arts from the lofty plains of Tartary, or from the submerged Atlantic continent, she had them before Greece, and at least assisted the Eastern nations in communicating them to that country.

This opinion, which appears to have originated with the Abbe Perron, and to have been widely propagated by the pen of the philosophic Bailli, is not, so far as I have been able to trace it, founded upon historical records; but as it has been very generally adopted, and not yet formally refuted, I have ventured to consider an historical discussion of the question respecting the remote civilization of the ancient Tuscans, a subject worthy of your attention on the present occasion.

With regard to the origin of this people, Herodotus informs us,* that they were a colony from Lydia, who emigrated under the conduct of Tyrrhenus, son of Atys, King of Lydia, about B. C. 700. "Almost all the writers of antiquity," says Mr. Dunlop,† "though varying in particulars, have followed, in general, the tradition of Herodotus concerning the descent of the Etruscans. Cicero, Strabo, Velleius Paterculus, Seneca, Pliny, Plutarch, Servius, and Catullus, all affirm that they came from Lydia. The account of the departure of the colony by Herodotus is exceedingly plausible, and its truth appears to be corroborated, if not

confirmed, by certain resemblances in the language, religion, and pastimes of the Lydians, and of the ancient Etruscans. The manners, too, and customs of the Lydians, did not differ essentially from those of the Greeks; and the Princes of Lydia, like the Sovereigns of Persia, being accustomed to employ Phœnician or Egyptian sailors, the colony of Lydians which settled in Italy, might thus contain a mixture of such people, and present those appearances which have led some Antiquaries to consider the Etruscans as Phœnicians or Egyptians, while others have regarded them as Greeks."

The writers of the Ancient Universal History have exerted their "Italy," say they, "in ancient usual diligence upon this subject. times, was parceled out into many petty states. In after ages, when the Gauls settled in the western, and the Greeks in the eastern provinces, it was divided into three great parts, Gallia Cisalpina, Italy properly so called, and Magna Grecia. Italy comprehended Etruria, Umbria, Sabinium, Latium, Piscenum, the countries of the Vestini, Marrucini, Peligni, Marsi, Frentani, Samnites, Hirpini, Campani, and Piscentini. Etruria was divided into twelve tribes, each of which had their peculiar city whence they borrowed their names. The modern names of these cities are Bolsena, Chiusi, Perugia, Cortona, Arezzo, Civita, Castellana, Volterra, Grosseto, and Cervetero; Veii, Ceræ, and Tarquinii being in ruins. They had twelve other cities on the coast, and twelve or thirteen inland. The Etrurians were also called Tuscans, and by the Greeks Tyrrhenians; both Greek and Latin authors bring them from Lydia. When they arrived in Italy they took possession of the country of the Umbrians, whom they drove out. It lay between the Adriatic Sea and the Appenines; they possessed themselves afterwards of the territories of Nola and Capua, and of almost all the sea coast which from them took the name of Tyrrhenian. These countries they held until the invasion of the Gauls, by whom they were driven from the coast of the Hadriatic, and from Campania by the Latins, by which they were confined to the small territory which lies between the Macra and the Tiber, and is called by all the ancients, Hetruria."*

Another learned writer informs us, that the first inhabitants of Italy appear to have been Illyrians or Thracians, Cantabrians, Celts, Pelasgians, and Etrurians. "The Celts," he adds, "may be imagined to have emigrated from Asia after the Iberians, and before the Thracians and Pelasgians, settling principally in Gaul, and spreading partly into Italy, under the name of Ausonians and Umbrians. The Etrurians and Umbrians were originally a branch of the Celts from Rhætia, as is shown by the similarity of the names of places as well as by remains of Tuscan art found in that part of the Tyrol; they are supposed to have entered Italy by Trent, about the year 1000, B. C., and to have afterwards improved their taste and workmanship, under Demaratus, of Corinth, who settled in Etruria, 663 B. C."*

Hitherto, our authorities, and they are ample, are unanimously against the notion of the Etrurians being aborigines of Italy, although the learned author of the article alluded to in the Quarterly Review, differs from Herodotus in regard to their foreign derivation. But, besides this copious attestation, there are difficulties of another nature to be surmounted by those who contend for their being "men of the soil;" they will have to fix the original locality of most of the numerous savage tribes who formerly occupied Italy, and who, from various causes incident to such a condition of life, were frequently compelled to change their abode.

Pliny, for instance, mentions that old Latium was successively occupied by the Aborigines, Pelasgi, Arcadians, Sicilians, Aruncanes, and Rutilians—that the Ligurians changed their seats thirty times—that Etruria often changed its name, and was successively occupied by the Umbrians, Pelasgians, and Lydians.† The same author informs us, that in Latium, which anciently extended from the Tiber to the Liris, fifty-three states have perished without leaving a trace behind; and, that according to the report of Mutianus, the consul, the Pomptine Marsh was once a dry plain, in which stood twenty three cities ‡ Amid

^{*} Quarterly Review, vol. x. art. 12.—Supposed to be by the late Dr. Young.

[†] Lib. iii. ch. 5.

¹ Idem Iliedem.

these political and natural dislocations, it seems impossible to fix, in the absence of positive history, the chorographical position of unsettled tribes whose remote antiquity deprives us of all particular knowledge of them.

The country in which the Lydians ultimately settled was the district of Italy proper, now known as the State of Tuscany, which extends from the mouth of the Tiber 150 miles westward, confining on the territories of Lucca and Genoa in that direction, with a breadth of nearly 100 miles inland. In their primitive state, however, they appear not to have been confined to the limits which preserve their name. Polybius states,* that the Tyrrhenians occupied part of Cisalpine Gaul beyond the Po. It would seem that they chiefly inhabited the west of Lombardy, but their settlements may be traced eastward to the shores of the Adriatic. They were dispossessed of their Transpadane territories by the Gauls, who vanquished them in the neighbourhood of the Tesino, about the year 600 B. C., when they founded Milan in the country of the Insubres.

After this, according to Polybius, they settled in Campania, in the country round Capua and Nola called then, the Phlegræan fields, where they gained great fame by their exploits. "Whatever," he adds, "we read in history concerning the ancient dynasties and fortunes of this people, must all be referred, not to the country which they possess at present, but to the plains just mentioned, whose fertility and extent afforded them the means of becoming great and powerful.

Here an historical difficulty occurs. From Herodotus, we learn that the Etruscans first settled in Tuscany before the Trojan war. After this, from other respectable authors, we find Etruscans in Lombardy beyond the Po, who possessed the country from Liguria, at the foot of the Western Alps, to the territories of the Veneti at the head of the Adriatic. Afterwards, according to Polybius and Livy, we find them in Campania Felix (Campi Phlegræi), a district situated 150 miles south of Etruria proper, or Tuscany, the intervening country being occupied by the Latins, the Volsci, and the Ausones. Thus we have a

northern, middle, and southern Etruria, each at a great distance from the other, and whose relative positions Mr. Niebuhr has indicated in a map of the ancient nations of Italy, prefixed to the translation of his Roman History. Which of the three is the mother country as regards Italy, seems still problematical. Livy, however, says (Lib. v. c. 33), that the Rhætii and other Alpine tribes were Etruscans of the plain, who retired from the invading Gauls to the Alps. From history, we likewise learn, that obscure traditions existed respecting the capture of Pisa and the surrounding country, from the Umbri, by the Tyrrhenians, and this line of conquest seems to be pointed out by Pliny (iii. 8), who says, that the Umbri, the most ancient nation in Italy, were dispossessed by the Pelasgi; a term which will here appropriately apply to the Lydian emigrants, and the circumstance is corroborated by Dionysius and Strabo, who state, that the Tuscans acquired by conquest Falerii, Groviscæ, Alsium, Fescennium, and Saturnia. Further, as the account of Herodotus, respecting the Lydian migration, was universally received in the time of Livy, and as he enumerates eight Etruscan states (lib. xxviii. c. 45), who spontaneously forwarded the armaments of Scipio, all within the kingdom of Tuscany, it seems probable, that this kingdom was the original Etruria. If, on the contrary, they were a Celtic tribe, as supposed by the writer alluded to in the Quarterly Review, the probability would go in favour of Cisalpine Gaul. How they came to form important establishments in Campania is equally. uncertain. Dionysius (lib. i. c. 25-29) says, that by Tyrrhenia, the Greeks understood all the western coast of Italy, from the Bay of Naples to beyond the Arno, thus including the cantons between the Vulturnus and the Tiber.

Velleius Paterculus informs us (lib. i. c. 7), that Capua and Nola were founded forty-eight years before Rome, by the Etruscans, who appear, from Strabo, to have also possessed twelve cities in this quarter. Again, Livy states (lib. iv. c. 37), that they were defeated by the Samnites at Vulturnum or Capua, in the year of the city 318, so that they must have possessed this district 366 years. After this date, the Campanian Tuscans disappear. From the Roman history, however, it

is evident, that neither the northern nor the southern Etruscans were the people with whom the early Romans contended for such a length of time; and from whom they are said to have borrowed many pontifical and military institutions; for they had no communication with states at a distance from the sphere of their military operations. are the southern Etruscans to be identified with the northern horde, who were dislodged by the Gauls in the reign of Ancus Martius, for the former are noticed as seated in Campania 154 years before the invasion of the Gauls. The question of the primitive seat of the Etruscans in Italy, appears, upon the whole, to be one of difficulty. tenour of ancient history seems to favour the claim of Tuscany to this distinction, and that the others were colonies from thence; the southern, in all probability, having gone by sea. But I am not satisfied, that these ever attained to that degree of political power and skill in the arts which Polybius supposes; for the Greeks, who settled in this country in the eighth century B. C., were then prosperous and powerful. Nor do I think those specimens of art which have been found in this district an argument in favour of his opinion, because they were not necessarily manufactured on the spot. Besides, Polybius, who evinces such penetration as an historian of his own times, is to be read with caution, in regard to matters of remote antiquity, which he despised as fabulous. Leaving this intricacy, I proceed to a few observations on the state of their Literature.

On this head, Mr. Dunlop observes, from Lanzi, the most correct writer on the subject, that whatever may have been their descent, their religion, learning, language, and arts, must be referred to a Greek origin, and not to the Egyptians, as Gori and Caylus supposed. The period of Etruscan perfection in the arts, and the formation of those vases which we now admire, was posterior, he maintains, to the subjugation of Etruria by the Romans, and, at a time when an intercourse with Greece had rendered the Etruscans familiar with models of Grecian perfection. As to the language, he does not, indeed, deny, that all languages came originally from the East, and that many Greek words sprang from Hebrew roots; but there are in the Etruscan tongue,

he asserts, such clear traces of Hellenism, or ancient Greek, particularly in the names of Gods and heroes, that it is impossible to ascribe its origin to any other source. In particular, he attempts to show, from the "inscriptions on the Eugubian Tables, that the Etruscan language was the Æolic Greek, since it has neither the monosyllables characteristic of northern tongues, nor the affixes and suffixes peculiar to oriental dialects.*

The diffusion of the language and arts of Greece may be naturally attributed to the numerous colonies, chiefly of Achæans of Peloponnesus, and of Dorians, who settled in Italy, about the commencement of the Roman æra. Mr. Mitford, in his History of Greece, informs us, that the Ligurians were supposed a colony from Greece; and that Pisa and Ceræ, in Tuscany, Formiæ, Antium, Aricia, Ardea, Tibur, and Prœneste, in Latium, and even Rome itself, were held to be Grecian towns. He observes, further, that "a colony of later date, and concerning which testimony is more ample and more precise, may have carried science and the arts into Tuscany, in a state of at least as much advancement as they seem ever to have attained there. It was led by Demaratus, of Corinth, upon occasion of the revolution of that city, through which the democratical party under Cypselus, became masters of the government, when the oligarchical chiefs, and particularly the family of the Bacchiads, of which Demaratus is said to have been one, found it necessary to seek settlements elsewhere. Demaratus found in Tarquinii, the principal city of Tuscany, a safe and honourable retreat for himself and dependents. He married a lady of high rank there, and died in the peaceable possession of wealth, then esteemed extraordinary. His son, Tarquinius Priscus, became King of Rome, by election of the Roman people. "The concurrence of testimonies," says Mr. Mitford, "both Greek and Roman, to these facts of so early an age, seems to go far towards proving one of two things; either that the Tuscans, and it might be added, the Romans, esteemed the Corinthians a kindred people, or that they found them a people superior to themselves in arts and general knowledge."

^{*} Hist. of Roman Literature, v. i. pp. 15, 16, 17.

† Vol. ii. p. 277-8.

VOL. II.

S A

The writer of the article in the Quarterly Review, alluded to above, says, that "the Latin is evidently derived from the Celtic, mixed with Greek, because Rome, from its situation, would naturally receive much of the language of these various nations, and much of Greek from the south of Italy. Its character as a derivative language may be observed in the adoption of insulated terms, independently of the simpler words from which they are deduced." It thus appears, that the Greeks were a more influential people in Italy in the first age of Rome, than the Etrurians, and their language more prevalent than the Tuscan. imagine from the resemblance of the Etruscan letters to the Phœnician, and from the latter people having established factories round the coast of Italy in remote times, that the former were indebted to them for their alphabet, and the arts which they practised. But, Bochart expresses his belief, that the Etruscan arts were derived from Greece, and denies that there is any resemblance in the languages of Etruria and Phœnicia.*

The poverty of the Etruscan Literature is more particularly disclosed by the nature of their books, most of which were extant, and well known at Rome towards the close of the republic, and appear to have been of the most frivolous description. Cicero, and other Latin writers, who have the Greek authors perpetually in their mouths, scarcely allude to any except treatises on augury and divination; and the only titles of their books, recorded by Roman writers, are the Libri Fatales, Libri Haruspicinæ, Sacra Acherontia, Fulgurales et Rituales Libri. It is said, indeed, that the Etruscans cultivated a certain species of poetry, sung or declaimed during the pomp of sacrifices, or celebration of marriages. It is evident, however, that these Etruscan songs or hymns were of the very rudest description, and probably were never reduced into writing. Livy's account of their dramatic performances (lib. viii. sec. 2) shows that they did not excel the Greeks in the days of Thespis. Censorinus informs us, on the authority of Varro, that they had their chroniclers and historians. "In Tuscis Historiis quæ octavo, eorum seculo scripta sunt." But this eighth century of the Etruscans, accord-

^{*} Geographia Sacra (De Coloniis, lib. i.)

ing to the chronology followed by Lanzi, would be as late as the sixth century of Rome; and, besides, it is evident from the context, that those pretended histories, were, in fact, mere registers of the foundations of cities, and the births and deaths of individuals. The celebrated Eugubian Tables (so called from having been dug up at Eugubium or Gubbio, a city of ancient Umbria A. D. 1444,) are no longer an argument for a very ancient knowledge of writing among the Etruscans. Five out of the seven are in the old Etruscan character, the others in modern Roman letters; notwithstanding which, Father Gori considers them all of equal antiquity, and to have been composed two generations before the Trojan war. It has been ascertained, however, that those in the Etruscan character were written towards the close of the sixth century of Rome, only a little before the others, in Latin, were composed. In support of this point, it may not be amiss to observe, that Mr. Swinton has proved, in a dissertation printed at Oxford, in 1746 (De pris. Roman. Liter.), that the Etruscan letters were used in Rome and in Latium posterior to the year of the city 245. The Eugubian Tables, in both languages, consist solely of ordinances for the performance of sacred rites, and religious ceremonies.

Another argument, against the opinion that the Etruscans were a literary people, is derived from the extreme ignorance of the Romans, in letters, during the first five centuries of their history. Dionysius Halicarnassus* informs us that the Romans, Latins, and all the neighbouring nations wrote on tablets of wood before the reign of Ancus Martius; and that the Greek characters were the first used by the Latins. He observes further, that the treaty between Tarquin the Proud and the Gabii was written in Latin words, but with Greek characters, on a wooden shield, covered with the skin of the ox that had been sacrificed on the occasion.

Pliny mentions,† that from ignorance of letters, the supreme officer among the Romans was ordered, by an ancient law, to mark the number of years by driving a nail into the Temple of Minerva; and that the same method of noting time was used by the Volscians, who fixed

^{*} Antiquit. Roman. lib. i. c. 35.

⁺ Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 60.

their nails in the Temple of the Tuscan Goddess, Nortia. In the twelve tables, he also informs us, mention is made only of the east and west points; some years afterwards the south was noted; and the consuls' crier called the hour of noon when he saw the sun between the rostra and Grecostasis (the place where foreign ambassadors attended), from the door of the Senate-house, and proclaimed the last quarter when it was visible between the columna Menia and the jail. This could only be done on clear days, and yet there was no other mode known until the first Punic war. Marcus Val. Messala, in the year of the city 477, introduced an inaccurate sun-dial from Sicily, which was used for 99 years, until one more exact was procured by Martius Philippus, the Censor. Twenty years afterwards the water-clock was introduced, by Scipio Nasica.

The pursuit of letters was neither a native nor predominate taste among the Romans, they were naturalized in the soil of Rome by a a few assiduous individuals, reared in the schools of Greece. The age in which Roman literature commenced was that of Lælius and Africanus. It is remarkable that there was no historian of Roman literature among the Romans themselves; particulars concerning it, as also judgments on works now lost, are to be collected from Cicero's writings, and the works of the latter classics, Pliny's Nat. History, Institutes of Quinctilian, Attic Nights, &c. The first historical and chronological documents were the Censor's Tables and Fasti Consulares, which offices were not in existence before the expulsion of the kings. These are, probably, what Livy alludes to (lib iv. c. 20), where he says, "there were very ancient books of the magistrates written on linen, and deposited in the temple of Moneta, and often cited as authority by Licinius Macer.

The early Roman authors were mere translators from the Greek. Fabius Pictor, the most ancient Roman historian, is said by Dionysius to have written in Greek. The next historians were Ennius and Cato the Censor. Pliny informs us,* that Theopompus was the first who wrote an account of Rome, in which he mentioned only that it was taken

by the Gauls. Next to him was Clitarchus, who only mentioned an embassy to Alexander the Great. After him Theophrastus wrote a book of Roman history, which he sent to Nicodorus, archon of Athens, anno U. C. 460, but the only particular which Pliny knew of this work was, that it mentioned that Circeii, which was an island in Homer's time, was eight stadii in circumference.

Mr. Niebuhr, in the first volume of his Roman History, as translated by Mr. Walter, asserts that "the profane sciences of Etruria, medicine, natural philosophy, and astronomy, together with their numerals, which were afterwards adopted by the Romans, were native and unborrowed, or introduced from the north, the abode of the Gods.* That their alphabet came directly to them, and not through the medium of the Greeks; and that they were acquainted with the art of writing from the most remote times.† That the Literature of the Etruscans was not refined by the Grecians.‡ That they had ancient historical works among them, with which Cato, the elder, and Varro were acquainted, and from which the Emperor Claudius composed his twenty books of Tyrrhenian History."§

I have conjoined these assertions, as the answers will have more force, collectively than singly, and as his reasons are purely negative, I shall draw what I have to say in reply chiefly from the context of his own narrative. Besides, in matters which belong to a period beyond the æra of authentic history, positive evidence cannot be expected either pro or con. Passing over, therefore, any investigation respecting the northern abode of the Gods, as a terra incognita, we find, in the first place, the following observation at p. 129. "The pretenders to philosophical observation have overlooked the fact, that there exists no instance of a people really savage, who have spontaneously advanced to civilization, and, that wherever it has been forced upon them from abroad, a physical destruction of the race has been the consequence, as in the case of the tribes of New California, and the Hottentots of the missions." As it is the opinion among philosophers, that savage ignorance resulted from extent of wandering, it follows from this mode of

^{*} Page 91. + Page 22-90.

reasoning, that the Etruscans were either extrinsically enlightened, or were the original stock of mankind, supernaturally illumined. But it is also contradictory of the express declaration of Sallust and Virgil, that the Aborigines of Italy were savages, living in hordes, without laws, or agriculture, subsisting by the chase or upon wild fruits. At pp. 88, 89, he further observes, "It is useless to attempt denying, that, however peculiar may have been the Etruscan science of architecture, all their improvements in statuary were communicated by the Greeks. antique statues, which are still preserved, evince their original rudeness; the Greeks alone were inspired with the idea of exhibiting the human form in life and beauty. A spark of their genius kindled the sensitive spirit of a sensitive people. This is further proved by the Greek mythology, in many of the most splendid Etruscan works of art. The Tuscans, also, when once enlightened, embodied their own conceptions, with a feeling altogether Grecian. From the use of Grecian mythology in the arts, we may infer their intimacy with the Greek poets. fables of Thebes and Ilium would not have been presented to the eye, if the mind of the spectator had not been previously familiarized with them by poetry. The whole of the west, even Carthage, was open to At page 109, "the Greeks, however, diffused Grecian literature." their sciences, their literature, and even the civic use of their language, far beyond the countries in their immediate vicinity, throughout all Italy." These, to say the least, are extraordinary admissions in the face of a declaration that "the literature of the Etruscans was not refined by the Grecian."

The expression, that their alphabet came directly to them, and not through the medium of the Greeks, is obscure, unless it means that it was sent by the gods; but at page 90 he is more explicit. "The Etruscan alphabet," he there informs us, "was formed like the Greek, from that which, among the many originally different Asiatic, was universally adopted throughout Europe in a variety of imitations." Here also is an admission that the Etruscan and Greek languages were cognate branches of the same stock; but it would occupy too much time to attempt to shew the extent of the obligations of the Etruscans

to the Greeks, in regard to their alphabetical characters. Of the nature of their ancient historical books, we have become pretty well acquainted from the researches of Mr. Dunlop. Many of these, in possession of the Romans, no doubt perished in the conflagration of Rome, in the year of the city 229, as stated by Livy; others, probably, when it was burnt by the Gauls. Yet, says Mr. Niebuhr, page 23, "in Cato's time the historical monuments, consisting of books and of ancient monumental inscriptions on stone or brass had neither wholly perished nor become unintelligible. Whatever, therefore, is stated upon the authority of Cato, deserves the highest attention; and when stated as his positive assertion, the most implicit credit." The works of Cato to which Mr. Niebuhr here refers are, the 2d and 3d books of his Origines which treated of the neighbouring cities of Italy, and perhaps part of the first, which contained a history of the Roman monarchy. But, as only a few fragments of the Origines have come down to us, and even these are considered supposititious, where is the use of referring us to them or quoting them as authority? Mr. Niebuhr proceeds, "the Social war and contests in the times of Sylla, destroyed the sources whence Cato drew his materials. These dreadful devastations which successively visited every part of Italy, and buried its most ancient cities in ruins, must have annihilated memorials of every description. In some districts the population was totally changed. The ancient Etruscans perished together with their science and Literature; the nobles, who had led the common cause, fell by the sword; those who deserted it became altogether Roman. The majority of the population lost all their landed property, and sank into poverty, under foreign and cruel masters and colonists, whose oppression robbed their degraded descendants of every patriotic recollection, as well as of their language and national characteristics. Nor is this the only reason why the later and peculiarly Roman historians are silent respecting the early history of Italy. The nations had become extinct, in whose original diversities Italy had formerly enjoyed multiplied varieties of social life; and though the Etruscan and Oscan language continued for a long time to be spoken in the secluded districts, the books and memorials

were almost generally unintelligible, or sunk into oblivion, in the time of Augustus." It thus appears from his own showing, that forty years before the time of Varro, no original materials existed for a history of Etruria, and that consequently the only sources of information available to later witers were the *Origines* of Cato. He, indeed, mentions Etruscan annals (Note to p. 22), with which Varro, he says, was acquainted, and from which he supposes the Emperor Claudius wrote his Tyrrhenian history; but unfortunately he compares these (p. 77) to the Indian Puranas, which are acknowledged forgeries.

So far, I think, Mr. Niebuhr has failed to prove that the literature of the Etruscans was indigenous; that they had carried it to any extent, or that their small improvement in it, was not the consequence of their intercourse with their Greek neighbours. Instead, therefore, of listening to this author, whose work, in the language of his translator, "is mainly formed of hypotheses and conjectures, and who leaves us to conjecture what his conjectures are,"* it will be safer to follow the Latin classic writers pointed out by Mr. Mitford, who observes, "upon this subject, however, it seems enough for the historian, that neither Cicero, with all his partiality for Italy, and all his deligence, and all his means of inquiry, nor Horace, with all his desire to gratify his Etruscan patron, nor Virgil, nor Livy, nor Pliny, had the least suspicion that their fellow-countrymen had any claim to the priority in science and art, which it has been proposed by some learned moderns to attribute to them."†

A few circumstances now come in course to be mentioned, in order to show their political weakness, and rude notions of the arts of civil life.

It is vaguely stated by Niebuhr,‡ and others, that the Etruscans were a great naval power when the Greeks first came among them. Herodotus, and Thucydides,§ indeed notice a naval engagement between the combined fleets of Carthage and Etruria and that of the Phocæans, in the first books of their respective histories, as happening in the reign

^{*} Translator's Preface.

[†] History of Greece, v. ii., p. 291.

[‡] Roman History, i., p. 85-6.

[§] Lib. i., c. 167.

of Cyrus, or Cambyses, and also that the latter with twenty vessels defeated the fleet of their enemies consisting of sixty ships. There must, therefore, have been a great inferiority on the side of the latter, either in the size of their vessels or in naval skill. It appears, however, from Herodotus that the Etruscan vessels in this engagement belonged only to the town of Cære, in Tuscany. It appears further, that the Etrurian maritime states were then dreaded by the Greeks as piratical, in consequence of which, as much as from apprehension of the Carthaginians, the Phocæans traded in the Tyrrhenian sea in armed vessels. In the year of the city 278 Cuma solicited the protection of Hiero, king of Syracuse, against them, who destroyed the whole of their ships without opposition, the Etruscans attempting to avert this loss only by bribing the commanders. Twenty-one years after this, when the Syracusans invaded Ilva and Corsica, no Tyrrhenian ships opposed them; and sixty-nine years later still, their coasts were unprotected when plundered by Dionysius, the elder.

No trace of naval power is found among them during the wars of the Romans against the towns on the coast, and they possessed no vessel during the first Punic war, since the Romans were destitute of them. The first quinquereme which fell into their hands, which served as a model for the construction of similar vessels, was taken by Appius Claudius, in his passage from Messana to Rhegium, after the reduction of Etruria.

In early times the Etruscans seem to have been equally insignificant as a military power. If we take for granted, a circumstance, which it would be difficult to disprove, namely, that Æneas conducted a colony of Trojans into Italy,* we have a strong instance of the military imbe-

^{*} Strabo and some others maintain that Æneas never left his country, but rebuilt Troy, where he reigned, and his posterity after him. Homer, who lived 400 years after the war of Troy, says (II. xx. v. 30, &c.), that the Gods destined Æneas to reign over the Trojans. Dionysius Halicarnassus, however, explained this passage, by saying, that Homer meant the Trojans who had gone over to Italy with Æneas, and not the actual inhabitants of Troy. Livy, Virgil, and other Latin authors, describe the arrival of Æneas as indubitable. The former represents him as having married Lavinia, daughter of the king of the Latins, in whose honour he built Lavinium. That Alba was built by his son, Ascanius, on the Alban Mount, close to the river Albula, which afterwards changed its name to Tiber, in

cility of the Etrurians in the heroic ages, for Livy (lib. i. sec. 3) says, that only thirty years after the death of Æneas, neither the Etrurians nor any of the neighbouring nations durst attempt any thing against the Latins. We have the same authority, that Romalus could never master more than 300 horse and 3000 infantry, a rabble of shepherds and vagabonds from various tribes, a lawless horde who chose to settle on the Palatine hill, whence they made inroads on the neighbouring country, yet the Etrurians were not strong enough to dislodge this handful of freebooters; and as Rome was not surrounded by a stone wall until the time of Lucius Tarquinius, it appears they were able to maintain themselves without this advantage for the space of 137 years, a great proof of the equally savage state of their neighbours. Again we find that Porsenna, King of Etruria, or, according to Niebuhr, only king of a tribe, was unable, with the assistance of other states, his neighbours, to restore Tarquinius Superbus, by force of arms, although in all probability the deposed King had a powerful faction within the city in his favour. Still later, in the early period of the republic, Livy mentions that the Fabian family alone, consisting of 306 patricians, and probably of 3600 vassals and clients, made war, at their own expense, against the state of Veii, the most powerful in Etruria.

The religion of the Etrurians was cruel in the extreme; they practised human sacrifices, which was abhorrent to the spirit of the religion of Rome. Their divinities were of the rudest sort. In the days of our forefathers, says Pliny,* there were no statues of brass or marble, or of foreign workmanship. The temples contained the likenesses of themselves and ancestors, in wax, including only the head and neck, which

consequence of Tiberinus, the 9th in descent from Æneas having been drowned in it; and that from the race of the Alban kings the Romans are descended. Much evidence has been brought forward by Bochart, and Mr. Wood, in his "Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer," to prove the scholium of Dionysius wrong, but Dr. Gillies, after a careful examination of this evidence, thinks the matter too doubtful to contradict the popular opinion of the Trojan origin of the Romans.—Even Niebuhr, the professed historian of ancient Italy, leaves this point, as he does every other of intricacy, just where he found it, by declaring it to be "a native national story on a par with every other event of the mythic age."—Vol. i. p. 143.

[#] Lib. xxxv. c. 2.

were carried in procession at the funerals of particular families, and arranged in the sepulchres. It appears, however, that they were gradually allured by the enticing fictions of the Grecian mythology, for, according to Livy, the principal Gods of the Vientians removed to Rome were, the Pythian Apollo, and Imperial Juno; and the Novensiles which the Sabines brought with them were, Lara, Vesta, Minerva, Feronia, Concord, Faith, Fortune, Chance, and Health, all of Greek extraction.

The priests of Etruria were given to the frivolous pursuit of augury chiefly by the Haruspicium, a mode which, among savages, may have led to human sacrifices. But there were other methods. "The Etrurians," says Mr. Niebuhr, "shared the glory of many branches of soothsaying with other nations of Italy, especially the Marsi. The science of lightening was their peculiar secret, This, like every other department of divination, was taught in the schools of the priests." "The priests taught that they knew, even without experience, by observing the signs of the foundation of any state, how many sæcula it should last, and of what duration each would be." There was no oracle as in Greece, where the priest might enquire personally of the God, but they divined the will of Heaven, by lots, made of billets of wood, rudely inscribed, which were drawn by a boy." "The Romans borrowed from them the art of divination, but the infallible source of this knowledge seems to have remained as a national property of the Etruscans, from the day in which Tages, a subterranean dwarf, rose and instructed them in this science."† These passages are important, in as much as they show that the Etruscans, in the first age of Rome, were as uncivilized as the Scandinavians in the days of Odin. In ingenuity and imagination, it is far below the grossest system of northern mythology, and is indicative of a low state, both of civil and moral virtue.

It is said that the Romans borrowed from the Etruscans, their pontifical and royal ensigns, the pomp of their triumphs, and their martial music. On this point, Mr. Niebuhr is more cautious than some other writers, accompanying the expression of his belief of these reports by

the qualifying phrases, "it can not be doubted," "according to well-known tradition," instead of leaving them to take their chance with the reader for being grounded on authority. We do read, however, upon good authority, that before the capture of the Greek city, Tarentum, in the two hundred and ninety-first year of Rome, the Romans exhibited in their triumphs only the broken arms of the Samnites, the empty cars of the Gauls, and herds of cattle, and, that upon such occasions, their Generals, among whom was the great Camillus, practised the savage custom of painting their bodies red.† In those days too, trophies were hung outside the door.

There is nothing, surely, in all this indicative of refinement. Besides, as Sallust mentions,‡ that the Romans borrowed from their allies, and even their enemies, whatever they thought useful, it will be difficult to apportion the extent of their obligations to any one people, and it will also prove, that few as the wants of a rude people are, the Etruscans were then incapable of supplying them. That they were poor in regard to the elegancies of life, appears from the fact, that the Romans found, for the first time, the plunder of an opulent city, at the capture of Tarentum. Livy expressly states, that £129,000. was a sum not to be expected from the plunder of any city in Italy in those days. If such was then the poverty of the Greek cities, what must have been the condition of the Italian? These observations go far to disprove the opinion that the ancient Etruscans were a commercial people. ancient Romans, and probably the Etrurians, according to Niebuhr, imported not only articles of luxury, as stuffs, purple, silver and gold; but likewise necessaries as lead, tin, and corn. Their exports were only slaves, iron, and copper. They had only copper coin. Such commodities were not fitted for distant land carriage; the foreign traders must therefore have been the Carthaginians, notwithstanding what Niebuhr supposes, namely, that "Etruria must have been the emporium of trade between the sea, the rest of Italy, and the remotest barbarian nations, to whom there was a safe and sacred road across the Alps!"—P. 87.

Here, however, this writer is at issue with Livy, who styles these

^{*} Vol. i. p. 97.

[†] Pliny, lib. xxxiii. c. 7.

[‡] Cataline's Conspiracy.

mountains the "pathless Alps," and says, that there did not exist even a tradition, that they had been climbed over previous to the invasion of the Gauls, under Bellovesus, anno U. C. 364.*

In the beginning of the fourth century of the city, the Romans had to send into Greece for a code of jurisprudence, Etruria not being able to furnish a system of judicial or legislative enactments adequate to such an infant state of society. Such are some of the circumstances reported in the early history of this people which show their gross ignorance in literature and science until the time when they began to make foreign conquests, and, by inference, the Etruscans, with whom, during this long period, they never ceased to be engaged in important transactions. Many more, known to us all as schoolboys, might be gleaned from the same sources, if necessary. But there is another view of this part of our subject which we must not omit to notice, namely, that the whole of the first age of Rome, which extends to the extinction of monarchy, is accounted, by some of the best Latin authors, fabulous, an opinion to which Niebuhr subscribes, who styles the history of the Kings a poetic fiction. † Plutarch, ‡ Solinus, and St. Austin all express the discordance prevalent in their days respecting the æra and the founder of Rome; but the observations of Sir Isaac Newton on this point are deserving of particular attention. "When the Greeks and Latins were forming their technical chronology, there were great disputes about the antiquity of Rome. The Greeks made it much older than the Olympiads. Some of them said it was built by Æneas; others by Romus the grandson of Latinus King of the Aborigines; others by Romus, son of Ulysses; or of Ascanius; or of Italus. Some of the Latins agreed with the Greeks, that it was built by Romulus, son or grandson of Timæus Siculus and Nænius the poet were of this opinion. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed upon; but about one hundred and fifty years after the time of Alexander the Great, they began to say that Rome was built a second time by Romulus, in the fifteenth age after the destruction of Troy, reckoning the age at about thirty-one years."

^{*} Lib. v. c. 34.

[†] Vol. i. p. 188-9.

[‡] Life of Romulus,

[§] Apud. Ant. Un. His. vol. xi.

[¶] Chronology, p. 128.

This passage is of value as showing the uncertain nature of the traditions before the time of Cato the Censor, who flourished about this distance of time from the death of Alexander. Even Niebuhr acknowledges thus much, although probably he was not aware of the admission. It has been already noticed, that he considers the history of the monarchy a poetic fable, composed from old songs which used to be sung at convivial entertainments. In other parts of the same volume are the following remarks. "When historians arose, history was alone attended to; but monuments and records were not consulted. The Roman records were certainly from the earliest times meagre in comparison with those of the Greeks. Their laws were for a long time only engraven on oak, and were entirely burnt when the Gauls took Rome. only ancient document recorded of the whole period of the monarchy is the league of Servius Tullius with the Latin, and of the last Tarquinius with the Gabii."* Not only the Annals of the Kings, but every narrative of those times were completely destroyed." "The sacred ceremonies of the Roman religion rest upon gratuitous interpretation." Here his meaning appears to be that the derivation of these ceremonies was uncertain. "The Etruscan annals, from which Varro copied, were nothing but a legendary priestly literature."§ "The annals of the Pontifices, and the Fasti Triumphales, did not commence until the battle of the Regillus" | (the beginning of the Common-"The Pontifical annals falsified history in favour of the patricians." The Consular Fasti, and those of the monarchy, are suspicious." ** "The received Fasti, of the 4th and 5th centuries, are full of striking inaccuracies." "The Libri Fatales enjoined human sacrifice." "The Sibylline book, purchased by Tarquin, perished in the conflagration of the capital."

"The keepers of the Sibylline books seldom ventured to open them. We know not in what language they were written; probably, in Greek, as Greece was ransacked for traditions to supply the place of those which were burnt; in which case the priests could know nothing of them, as they durst not admit an interpreter to a knowledge of their contents."

^{*} Page 185.

⁺ Page 187.

[†] Page 175.

[§] Page 362.

Page 382.

[¶] Page 190.

^{••} Page 201.

^{††} Page 202.

But how does he astonish the reader when, in the face of such concessions, he asserts that many historical monuments, consisting of books, and inscriptions on stone or brass, existed, and were intelligible in the time of Cato, and continued even until that of Sylla.* Still more when, on the authority of Dionysius, Xanthus, a Lydian historian of no certain age or character, and the Native Annals of Etruria, he contradicts Herodotus and the other respectable authors who coincide with him in deriving the Eruscans from Lesser Asia;† when he refers to early native annals written before Greek literature predominated;‡ to the Sibylline books, which he says were read by Dionysius;§ and to the sacred books of the Etruscans, the Libri Rituales for the Etruscan origin of the whole of the primitive constitution of Rome.

This author seems to go abroad in quest of any obscure writer or tradition to support what may be termed his new theory of ancient transactions, accepting or refusing the guidance of accredited historians, just as they suit his peculiar views. Thus he reverses the account of Herodotus that the Tyrrhenians were a colony from Lydia, into an emigration from Tyrrhenia into Greece upon the authority of Myrsilus, ¶ a writer unknown in classic history. But his capricious treatment of some of the most able and candid historians of antiquity is deserving of especial animadversion: for instance, in one place he says, "Polybius is not to be relied upon in historical matters of remote antiquity;"** in another, that "he writes with so much caution and accuracy that every word he uses must be taken as significant."†† Dionysius is, in general, his favourite authority, who, he tells us, "was renowned as a critic among his cotemporaries;"## yet, elsewhere, he classes him with Plutarch "as a man of weak discernment," \square and "whose judgment was warped by prejudice." || He appeals to Varro as a standard authority on many occasions, yet he also writes that "his authority, as to the situations and names of places destroyed in very remote ages, is, in fact, of little value. But whatever weight may reasonably be assigned to him where ancient documents could be brought to light, yet his confused knowledge and

wavering judgment, tend much and justly to diminish his credit, on occasions where critical penetration alone can justify the boldness of venturing on an untrodden path without a guide."* Livy, whose elegant and valuable history he has taken as his text book, he declares, " is not to be depended upon when the chronology of foreign nations is concerned;"† that, "from a poetical spirit he relates things rather in the style of history, than as real history;"‡ that "he did not seek truth with simplicity of spirit, and is an affectedly ingenious investigator who deserts the natural and obvious meaning." These, and they are but a few of those to be found in this volume, are manifest inconsistencies, and surprise us as dropping from the pen of a professor of ancient history. He is the most recent, the most confident, and, perhaps, the most popular advocate for the existence of a high degree of civilization and skill in the arts and sciences among the ancient Etruscans, before the æra of authentic history: but opinions founded on books of augury, the Sybilline oracles, annals written by savages, monuments whose existence is not authenticated, and whose inscriptions were, at all events, never intelligible, and other similar data, which were despised by the classic historians of Rome, are not likely to command respect in the present day, nor would they have been noticed here, did not their hostility to the view of the subject maintained in this paper render it necessary to expose their fallacy by an analytical examination. remains to make only one or two observations on the temples at Pæstum.

In the dark and turbulent ages which succeeded the Trojan war, intestine sedition, foreign invasion, or the restless spirit of adventure occasioned extensive migrations from Greece in various directions. Some of the most important settled in the south of Italy and in Sicily, which settlements were afterwards included in the generic term Magna Græcia. With the exception of Eubæan Cumæ whose foundation ascends to the heroic ages, the greater number of Greek colonies in those parts were planted during the 8th century B. C., chiefly by the Eubæans of Chalcis, the Achæans of Peloponnesus, and the Dorian states,

particularly Corinth, by whom Syracuse was founded. Crotona, the most considerable city of the Achæans and of all Italy in ancient times, was built 710 years B. C. Sybaris, its rival, was built about the same time, and by the same nation. The former sent colonies to Tirina, Caulonia, and Pandosia; the latter built Laus, Metapontum, and Poseidonia or Pæstum. Many other cities sprung up at the same time both in Sicily and Italy, over the whole southern coast of which the Syracusans had extended their settlements in the 6th century B. C., and in the following the colonies of Magna Græcia had risen superior to the mother country in wealth, power, and refinement. During all this time Proper Greece was in a state of semi-barbarism, and had made but little progress either in literature or the arts. The refinement of Magna Græcia clearly emanated from the Asiatic Greek cities, which had been planted about the same time with the western colonies, and with which they maintained an intimate intercourse. From Miletus, the capital of Ionia, the arts and manners of the polished Lydians might easily pass, without communication with Proper Greece, to the wealthy towns of Italy and Sicily. But history is deficient in materials for tracing the causes of the wonderful prosperity of some of these cities. Many, as formerly in Holland, seem to have contained an excess of private wealth, beyond reasonable objects of expenditure. Agrigentum, for example, was a vast city commanding a territory scarcely equal to one of our smallest counties, in which 20,000 wealthy citizens were sovereigns over 180,000 free subjects, sovereigns and subjects both having under them slaves unnumbered. Their extraordinary wealth was displayed in the magnificence of public edifices, and in the splendid enjoyment of private fortunes. They had begun and almost completed the celebrated temple of Jupiter, on whose pediment were the celebrated sculptures of the defeat of the Giants and the taking of Troy. Nothing could rival the beauty and elegance of their tombs to perpetuate the fame of their coursers which had obtained the prize at Olympia; and to commemorate the quails and other delicate birds which were cherished by the effeminate youth of both sexes.

This prosperity and refinement, had, in a certain degree, spread wol. 11. S c

through the principal Greek cities of Italy, antecedently to the appearance of even brick buildings, either in Etruria or Rome; for in the 5th century B. C. such was the weakness and barbarism of the Italian tribes that, according to the testimony of Greek and Roman writers, wherever almost a Grecian pirate chose to settle on the coast he found no force among the natives capable of resistance; and it is allowed that Rome was but a collection of thatched cottages, until it was destroyed by the Gauls. Here, then, we find all that is necessary, in regard to wealth, science, taste, and peculiarity of religious worship, for the construction of the Pæstan temples, among the Greek inhabitants of that city or district; while throughout the whole of this paper we have not discovered a single similar circumstance in favour of their Etruscan origin.

The same arguments might be effectually urged against a supposed Etruscan style of architecture, still visible in many parts of Tuscany and Magna Græcia, as Fondi, Crotona, and Cora; and which consists in having the sides and angles of large polygonal blocks accurately adapted to each other without cement; did we not know that similar specimens are to be found at Mycenæ, the Pynx at Athens, the walls of Mantinea and Chæronea, and in almost all the fortified cities in Proper Greece and Epirus; which shows, beyond doubt, that it was derived from Greece.

But many, and Paoli in particular,* consider the three temples at Pæstum, from their style and proportions, to have been built by Etruscans, and before the arrival of the Greeks in Calabria. Here, however, we have on the other side, the opinion of Mr. Wilkins, a competent judge of the national characteristics of architecture, who informs us that the largest of the three is decidedly Greek, and the two smaller Roman, built in subsequent ages when the arts had been long on the decline. "There can exist little doubt," he observes, "in the minds of those who are accustomed to contemplate the features of ancient architecture, that the largest was coeval with the very earliest period of the Grecian migration to the south of Italy. The Grecian character is too strongly marked to admit of any argument whether its origin was

[·] Apud WILKIN's Magna Græcia, p. 59, note.

prior or subsequent to the possession of Poseidonia by that people. Low columns with a great diminution of the shaft, bold projecting capitals, a massive entablature, and triglyphs placed at the angles of Zophorus, are strong presumptive proofs of its great antiquity. The shafts of the columns diminish in a straight line from the base to the top, although at first sight they have the appearance of swelling in the middle."*

But, as the style of the great temple at Pæstum, predominates also in most of the temples remaining in Sicily, and in one, of which small relics only are left, at Pompeii, and differs from what is found common in Greece, and among the Grecian settlements in Lesser Asia, does not this discrepance show—say the advocates for the Etruscan origin of the Sicilian and Pæstan buildings—that these are Italian and not Grecian architecture? I answer, no, for the reasons assigned for this discrepance by Mr. Mitford.† "But not," says this excellent historian, "to say any more of the total want of testimony to the existence of an Italian people capable of teaching architecture to the Greeks, the following considerations may, I think, sufficiently account for the difference between the style of the Attic, and that of the Sicilian and Pæstan buildings. Sybaris was destroyed about eighteen years before the invasion of Xerxes, and the buildings of Agrigentum, where the noblest ruins of Sicily remain, were raised, according to Diodorus, immediately after the event, when Athens was also to be restored, after its complete destruction by the Persians. It is likely that the Agrigentines and Sybarites would build in the style of their forefathers; but we are well informed that the Athenians did otherwise. Themistocles, who superintended the rebuilding of Athens, splendid in his disposition, rather to excess, acquainted with the elegancies of Asia Minor, and possessing power to command the science, art, and taste of the country, would not restore when he could improve. Cimon, who succeeded him in the administration, was also remarkable for his magnificence; and he too had seen whatever the Asiatic coast possessed of great and beautiful. But the ornamental buildings of both those great men were comparatively little

[•] Magna Græcia, p. 59.

⁺ Hist. of Greece, vol. ii., p. 299, note.

to what were afterwards raised by Pericles under the direction of Phidias. The fame of the buildings of Athens then spreading over Greece, a new style of architecture was introduced gradually everywhere. The Ionic order had been imported into Attica from Asia; the Corinthian was soon after invented by an Athenian architect; and the Doric itself began to change its ancient, simple, and massive grandeur, for more embellishment, lightness, and grace."

These quotations remove all doubt respecting the architects of the Pæstan temples, and the latter shows that the Tuscan order is no other than the old Doric, as it existed before the age of Pericles. It is, therefore, needless to seek for other proof that the Etruscans were not the founders of those buildings which have survived near nine centuries the total destruction of the city. That they were constructed previous to the arrival of the Greeks in Italy, is an assertion founded on ignorance of ancient history; for it is well known that both Italy and Sicily, in Homer's time, were known only by name. They were regions of imaginary monsters and real savages, who, according to this great poet, neither ploughed nor sowed. "They feed," he says, "on the spontaneous productions of the soil; they have no assemblies for public debate; no magistrates to enforce laws; no federal union nor common concern of any kind; but they dwell in caverns, or on the tops of mountains, and every one is magistrate or lawgiver to his own family."* The situation of Pæstum, in the midst of a wide plain, was most happily adapted to the purposes of commerce and agriculture. Its port was highly advantageous to the interests of the city, and was frequented by the merchants of distant nations. During a period of more than 200 years from their first establishment, the Posidonians enjoyed a state of tranquillity in their possessions. An equal degree of prosperity was enjoyed by nearly all the Grecian settlements in Italy and Sicily. It is, therefore, natural to suppose that, from the gulfs of Salerno and Naples, in particular, a gleam of civilization would, in time, reach the coast of Tuscany, either through the medium of trade or piratical excursions, and in this manner we may account for those rude institutions and arts

which appear to have been known there during the first æra of Roman history; but in all that I have read respecting the ancient Etruscans, I have met with nothing in any author of repute which countenances the opinion that they were ever an enlightened and scientific people; on the contrary, they appear to have been subdued and incorporated with the Roman Commonwealth before they had emerged from a state of barbarism.

XLIX.—A Letter from the Corporation of Newcastle upon Tyne to the Mayor and Aldermen of Berwick.

Mr. Charnley, one of the members, having presented the Society with the curious little volume, entitled "Newcastles Call, To her Neighbour and Sister Townes and Cities throughout the land, to take warning by her Sins and Sorrows, &c., by R. Jenison, D^r. of D., whereunto is added, the number of them that dyed weakely in Newcastle and Garth-side, from May 6th. to December 31, 1636," the following letter, on the same subject, was presented to the Society by the Rev. Jas. Raine, of Durham; extracted from the Guild-book, Berwick, 1636, fol. 159:—

A letter redd in guild from the mayor and aldermen of Newcastle upon Tyne to the mayor and aldermen of this Brough.

RIGHT WORTHIE GENT.

Wee haue receaved from yow by a servant of Sir John Clavering the some of 40 marks a verie ample expression of your pittie to us in this our great calamitie by reason of the sore pestilence soe long contynueing in this place, your charitie with the helpe of God shall be by us continually had in remembrance, and as occasion shall require shal be requited with thankfullness according to our powers. God in his mercye for Christ Jesus his sake cease the sickness and preserve yuw and all others from the same. The nomber of the dead is not so manye this last weeke as formerly being but one hundred twentie two. The great death of people that hath beene which doth amount to verie nere

6000 persons since the beginning wee feare is the cause that there dye fewer now; there being not soe many people left in the towne as there was. Thus with all due respects of thankfullness wee rest.

Your truly loving friends,

PETE RIDDELL, maior.

Wm. WARMOUTH,

ROB. ANDERSON,

RAPHE COLE,

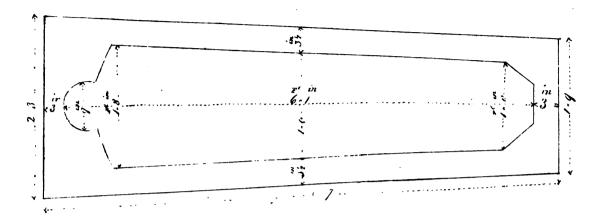
LEONARD CARR, vic.

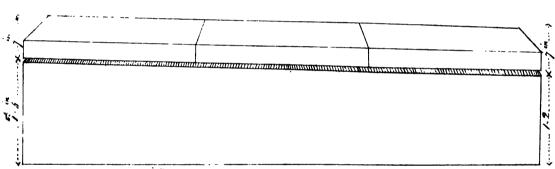
Octob. 1636.

L.—Some additional Particulars relative to the Stone Coffin found in Chatton Church Yard.

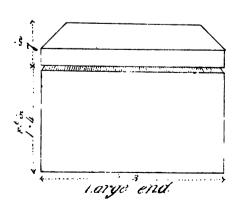
Since Mr. Cock's communication respecting the Stone Coffin discovered in Chatton Church Yard, Northumberland (for which see Archæologia Æliana, vol. i. p. 99), he has favoured the Society with a model of it, at one-third of its original size, and also drawings of it with its dimensions (Plate XIII). This Coffin is considered of more moment than the usually discovered Stone Coffins, from the circumstance of there being not any quarries of stone in the vale of Chatton, from which such a Coffin could be procured. This strengthens the probability of its having been the depository of the remains of some person of note, perhaps a celebrated warrior in the then contending armies, from the spur and other reliques being found near it. The only place where the stone could be procured is on the adjacent hills, which are at some distance. The weight of the Coffin is 170 stones.

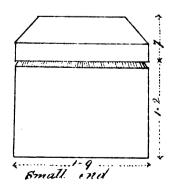
Plun of a Stone Coffin discovered in Chatton Church Yard North de Church Yard North de Chatton Church Yard North de Church North de Church Yard North de Church Yard North de Church North de





Side View of the Coffin with the Cover on.





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LI.—Rutupiarum Reliquiæ, or, an Account of the celebrated Roman Station, Rutupiæ, near Sandwich, in the County of Kent, with Remarks on Julius Cæsar's Landing Place, in Britain. By Thomas Charles Bell.

THE attempt of the present essay is to throw some light upon the history of the famous Roman Station, *Rutupiæ*, more commonly called Richborough, situate on an eminence about a mile and a half to the northward of the town of Sandwich, on the eastern coast of Kent.

Various have been the opinions respecting the place of Julius Cæsar's landing on his first expedition against Britain, some having supposed it to have been to the southward, while others, and as it should seem with more probability, from the accounts left us by Cæsar himself, that it must have taken place to the northward of Dover. This last opinion is much strengthened by a survey of the coast in that direction, where we find, as will afterwards be shewn, an open level country, such as would most likely be chosen by a skilful general for the landing of his troops.

Cæsar informs us that he landed at about eight miles from Dover, on an open level shore. At Dover the cliffs are remarkably high and perpendicular, and thus continue northward, but gradually decrease in height, until near Walmer, where the cliffs terminate, and the beach or level shore commences, and continues as far as Sandown Castle, about a mile and half further northward, where the sand hills commence.—
These cover a tract of land extending from the beach into the country, upon an average of about half a mile, and along the shore northward almost to the mouth of the river Stour, or entrance into Sandwich Haven, nearly two miles further. They form a barren and very rugged tract, being composed of heaps of loose sand.

The whole of the land extending behind these, from Deal on the vol. 11.

south, to Woodnesborough Hill on the west, and from thence to Eachend, about a mile and a half on the road from Sandwich to Canterbury, and proceeding northward and forming a little bay, in which the valley of Goss Hall is now situated, round the headland of Richborough, is one continued level and marshy tract of country, with all the appearance of having been, not many ages since, overflowed by the sea, and forming an extensive but shallow bay.

With regard to the sand hills themselves, as their elevation is considerably above the level of the surrounding lands, it appears questionable whether these have been formed by an accumulation of sand continually thrown up by the sea since its retreat, and thus raising as it were an embankment against any encroachment on the land it had recently left; or whether they originally existed as shoals like those of the Goodwin and other sands, does not appear to be essential to the present enquiry.

The object is to ascertain the exact place of Cæsar's landing; and this, as has been ably shewn in a paper inserted in the Mechanics' Magazine for May, 1827, may be pretty clearly ascertained by comparing some observations Cæsar has left in his Commentaries with astronomical evidence by calculation, as an extract from the paper alluded to will clearly prove. "The first expedition of Cæsar into Britain took place in the year of the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, the 55th year before Christ; and with respect to the time of the year, Cæsar expressly says, that a small part of the summer being left, he hastened over into Britain, and arrived on its coast about the fourth hour of the day, when he beheld the armed forces of the enemy drawn up in battle array on all the hills, to oppose him. The nature of the place was such, that the sea being environed with steep rocks, a dart could be thrown from the top of the cliffs to the shore. There is no doubt but this place was Dover, in front of which Cæsar arrived about ten o'clock in the morning; here he remained at anchor until three o'clock in the afternoon, when having obtained a favourable wind and tide at the same time, he sailed along with them, and then landed upon an open level shore. Casar next informs us, that after he had been four days on the islands, a storm arose, which did great damage to that part of the fleet appointed to

bring over the cavalry, and that on the night it happened there was a This expression, considering that a small part of the summer only was remaining when the expedition was undertaken, incontrovertibly decides the day on which Cæsar landed. Calculating backwards from the full moon in May, 1827, we find that 23,259 lunations have elapsed since August 27, ten hours, fifty-one minutes P.M., fifty-five years before Christ, at which time, consequently, there was a full moon. and which must be that mentioned by Cæsar, as happening four days after he came into the island. It could not have been the full moon which happened on the 29th July, or that on the 26th September, nearly at noon, because, then he could not say, 'exiguá parte æstatis reliquá,' when he was about to undertake the expedition; nor 'propingua die equinoctii,' when he was going to return to the continent. Cæsar, therefore, came in front of the cliffs at Dover on the 23d August, B. c. 55, according to the Calendar now in use, and after three o'clock in the afternoon of that day, sailed with the tide eight miles before he landed. Hence, we have only to determine which way the tide was running at that time. Now, at the time of full moon, the moon souths nearly at midnight, and in this instance, it is quite certain that it was the case within three or four minutes either way; and allowing three hours ten minutes, for the difference of southing in four days, the moon would be south on the 23d, at eight hours fifty minutes P. M. Hence, according to the rules laid down for calculating the time of high water, it was low water at Dover on the above day, at two hours eight minutes P. M.— Therefore, by three o'clock, especially if accelerated by a favourable wind, the flow-tide would be sufficiently up, which, running northward, as it does on the coast of Dover, carried Cæsar and his fleet that way. Consequently the plain open shore where the landing was effected, was north of the cliffs of Dover, and between the South Foreland and Deal. Thus, the place of Cæsar's landing, stands in no need of conjecture, but is almost as capable of demonstration as any of the propositions in Euclid."

It is, therefore, somewhere on the coast near Walmer, and before we arrive at Deal, that the landing of Cæsar's troops must have been

effected, since this spot, the first open and level shore, northward of Dover, is about the distance from that place at which Cæsar states his landing to have been effected. After landing, it is natural to suppose, that he would search for some commanding station, upon which he might fortify himself against the assaults of the enemy, and such a station, the only one, indeed, fitted for the purpose, would be found upon the headland of Richborough.

The country to the northward of Richborough, like that on the southward, is a level marshy tract, extending from near the site of the ancient town of Stonar along the Minster Level on each side the course of the river Stour as far as Sarr, on the road from Canterbury to Margate, and from thence on each side the course of the decayed river Wantsum, to the sea near Reculver, on the northern coast of this part of Kent. The whole of the tract on each side the Stour and Wantsum, being a marshy level, like that on the other side of Richborough, probably formed an immense estuary, widely separating the Island of Thanet from The mouth of this inlet of the sea seems to have extended from the Gore, on the eastern, and to Reculver on the western side, where projecting cliffs, or headlands, are still observable, and which must have been more particularly the case when the land was continued into the sea, several miles distant from the present shore; but which has, from time to time, been undermined and washed away, as appears both from authentic records, and from the evidence of many persons still resident near the spot.

Hence, Reculver, the *Regulbium* of the Romans, was probably a fortified station, commanding the entrance of the æstuary on the northern side, as the headland of Richborough did on the southern; and, if this view be correct, it will thus appear, that the castle of Richborough was erected upon a neck of land, at that time nearly surrounded by water, being connected with the main land only on its northwestern side, and thus affording a place of great security.

The whole of the present immense tract of land from Richborough to Eachend, and from thence by Woodnesborough to Walmer, being upon nearly the same level, and covered with water, the present town of Sandwich could not at that time have been in existence, nor indeed until many years after the retiring of the sea, which seems, from the accounts of the Saxon historian, Bede, was gradual, and probably occurred between the fourth and sixth centuries.

This is the more clearly borne out by the fact, that no Roman remains either of armour, utensils, or coins, are hitherto known to have been found at Sandwich, or within the marshy tract just described, while occasionally those of the Saxon, more particularly their skeattas and small silver coins are sometimes discovered; it is also evident from the quantities of marine shells, always the deposit of a retiring sea, which are found at a short depth from the surface, beneath the cliff upon which Richborough is situated, that the sea must, at some distant period, have flowed against its very base. Indeed, this is proved from the fact noticed in Boys' History of Sandwich, p. 865, where it is stated, that a few years ago, the workmen employed in digging the foundation of Richborough sluice, "after penetrating through what was once the muddy-bed of the river, that runs close by, in a more contracted channel than formerly, came to a regular sandy sea shore, that had been suddenly covered with silt, on which lay broken and entire shells, oysters, sea-weeds, the purse of the thornback, a small shoe with a metal fibula in it, and some small human bones; all of them, except the last article, with the same appearance of freshness as such things have on the shore at this day." Surely this must incontrovertibly prove that the sea, and that too, if we may judge from the discovery of the shoe and fibula, covered this tract during at least the earlier part of the time the Romans were in possession of Britain.

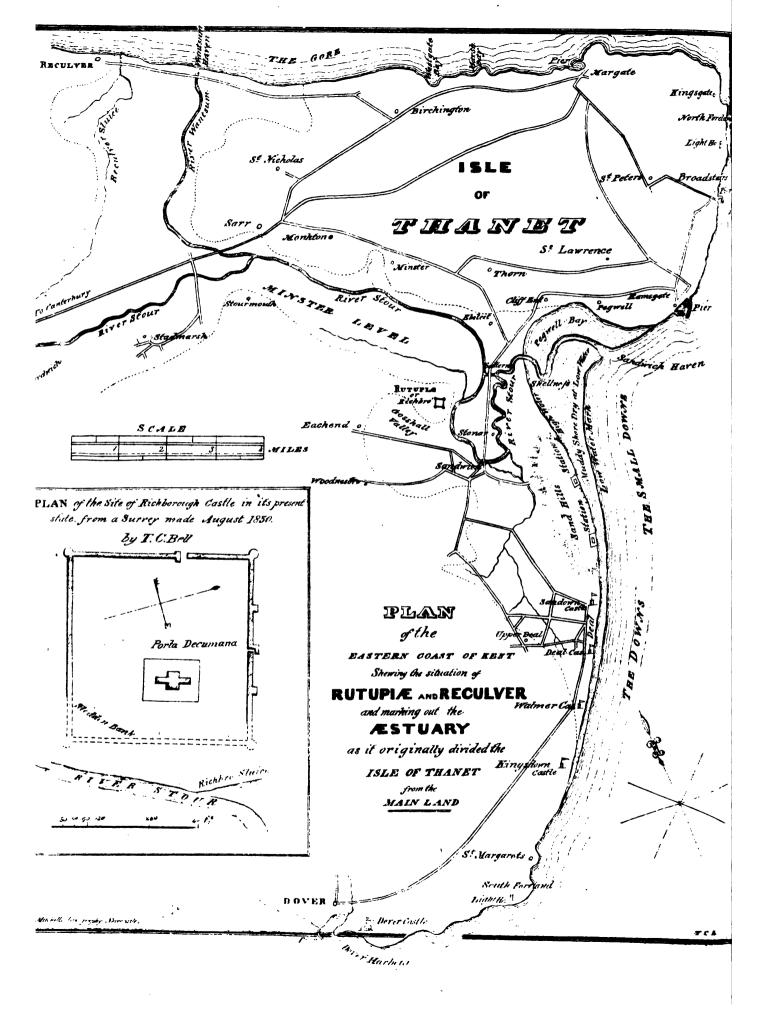
The present course of the river Stour, which empties itself into the sea at Sandwich Haven, is very irregular. At Sarr, it crosses the road from Canterbury to Margate, dividing the Isle of Thanet from the main land, and running a north-easterly direction along the Minster Level, until it arrives at Ebsleet, where it turns, taking a south-westerly direction as far as Stonar-cut, close by the high-road from Sandwich to Ramsgate, in which direction it continues, with an inclination westward, unto about half a mile from Richborough, where it takes almost a direct

westerly course towards the Castle, a short distance from which it again turns to the northward, and recurves at a distance of about two hundred feet from the edge of the present cliff. The northern wall of the castle is in a direct line with the banks of this bending of the river. which runs from hence almost in a parallel direction, but at some greater distance from the cliffs. On approaching Sandwich, its course again becomes very tortuous, winding along the northern side of the town, and through the marshes until within a mile of the sea. again bends to the northward, and continues with many windings, almost in a parallel direction with the sea-shore as far as the Salterns, at Stonar-cut, on the right hand side of the road from Sandwich to Ramsgate, approaching within about a furlong of the course it had previously traced a mile to the north-eastward of Richborough. At this spot the river is united by Stonar-cut, over which the bridge passes for the road to Ramsgate, and the river continues in the same winding north-eastwardly direction until it empties itself into the sea at Shellness, forming a haven or channel among the shallows in the line of the cliff at Pegwell.

Relying on the supposition, that the sea once flowed up to the base of the walls of Richborough, and through the æstuary, between Thanet and the main land, it will readily be understood how it was, upon the retiring of the sea, that the river came to assume its present irregular course; more particularly if we suppose the retrocession of the waters to have occurred on a sudden. The Stour, which, as we learn from its ancient name, *Durwhern*, signifying a swift river, sweeping through the marshy district from Fordwich to Stourmouth, upon the retiring of the sea, readily wore itself a channel through the lower and softer soil of the bed of the æstuary, and in like manner around the head-lands of Richborough, and through the marshy level of Sandwich and Stonar, to the line of coast which then formed the shore.

The Castle of Richborough is situated on the highest part of the eastern edge of the eminence or headland, which we suppose to have been nearly surrounded by water, when the bay and æstuary existed. It seems to have been a parallelogram, or square, of about 480 feet on

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The northern wall, in its present state, is the most perfect. the foundation of it existing throughout, and the wall itself, particularly towards the east, is almost entire for 340 feet; as may be seen by the shaded lines on the accompanying plan, taken on a survey made in August, 1830. Good portions of the western and southern walls also remain; but the eastern is entirely destroyed, having fallen down with part of the bank, from being, perhaps, undermined by the sea, as the platform or table of land beneath the cliffs, walled up, as it were, with irregular masses of the building, clearly indicates. Huge masses of this fallen wall are also lying at a short distance from the eastern angle of the castle. The whole space covered, according to Boy's History, was 6a. 1R. 8p. of ground; and the area within the walls, 5a. 8p. The walls were protected at their angles by round projecting towers, and also by square ones, at irregular distances, along the sides. evidences of two of these in the western, and of two others in the northern wall; besides the Porta Decumana, a narrow and oblique entrance into the castle. They appear to have been solid nearly eight feet from the foundation, and afterwards hollow; and to have projected about the same distance from the wall. They were thought by Mr. Boys to have been designed for the purpose of containing some apparatus of defensive machinery, as several round smooth holes in the wall, of from four to nine inches in diameter, and penetrating various depths from eight feet to ten inches, would seem to indicate. In the western wall, 115 feet nearest the northern side, appears to have been a spacious opening, about twenty five feet in width, where some have been induced to think, from the exuviæ of animals usually sacrificed to Diana, and which are abundant near this spot, that an altar or temple, to that goddess must have formerly existed, but instead of supposing such a situation to have been chosen for the performance of religious rites, when the castle must have been continually exposed to the attacks of the enemy, it seems more reasonable to suppose, that in this aperture a strong fortified gate, the principle entrance to the castle, was erected.

About 265 feet of the southern wall is still remaining, but very much dilapidated, the whole of the facings being thrown off by ivy, and

exposure to heat and moisture. It has also been purposely undermined in many places, to serve, as it should seem, as a shelter for cattle, depasturing in the neighbouring fields. The foundation is partly remaining, from the end of the wall to the edge of the cliff, about 75 feet distance.

There does not appear ever to have been a ditch, or other fortification around the building; and the foundation of the walls is very superficial; from which it is supposed to have been erected upon some great The walls, to the height of six feet, are between eleven and twelve feet in thickness; and afterwards only ten feet eight inches; they are composed of a mixture of large bolders, or beach stones, sandstone, blocks of chalk, and ochrestone, cemented together with a mortar formed of lime, grit, large and small pebbles, sea shells, and fragments of baked bricks. The walls are faced on both sides with square masses of grit, and Portland stones, and which, in many places, are disposed in the herring-bone fashion. On the outside of the northern wall the facing is most perfect, and there we see, at intervals of three or four feet, double rows of large flat tiles, exceedingly well burnt, and differing in dimensions from fourteen inches by seven and three-qarters, to seventeen inches and a half by eleven and a half. These do not go through the wall, but merely, for the most, to the depth of two tiles. are nowhere perfect, their greatest height as they now stand, is at the northern side, and there it is about twenty-three feet.

Within the area of the castle, towards the north-east corner, is an underground platform of masonry, one hundred and forty-five feet long, one hundred and four wide, and five feet thick, composed of bolders and coarse mortar. In the middle of this, is the base of a structure in the form of a cross, rising a little above ground, and considerably above the platform upon which it is erected; the shaft running north and south, is 87 feet long, and seven and a half feet broad, the transverse one, is 22 feet in width, and forty six feet in length. To what purpose this could have been erected, is at present a matter of much uncertainty, some having supposed it to have supported a lofty sea mark for the mariner, while others, and perhaps with equal probability, have supposed

it to have been commemorative of Saint Augustine's arrival in Britain, and landing at this very station.

Where the city of Rutupiæ was situated, whether it consisted of the space within the walls, or extended over the plain behind the castle, is now as much a matter of enquiry as that of the purpose for which the cross we have just spoken of was erected. No traces of the city are known at this time, nor have, indeed, for several hundred years past to have been discovered. Indeed, the causes of change to which this part of the island has, for the last 2,000 years, and since the building of Richborough Castle, been subjected, have been so many and powerful, and the writers upon such matters, for the first eight or nine hundred years of that period, so few or so brief in their narratives, that we cannot wonder why so little of its history remains. The present remains of its walls, probably owe their existence to their ponderous and rock-like nature, and to their great extent.

In the absence, however, of all historical records, some conjectures perhaps may be admitted. War, and its attendants, are the principal causes that have swept away even more extensive and powerful cities than we can suppose Rutupiæ ever to have been, and of which nothing but the names remain, not even their sites being near so well ascertained as that of Rutupiæ at the present time. That war has been almost the sole cause of the decay of this place, can hardly be doubted, since, more particularly within the area of the castle, we have ample proofs that a great slaughter must at some time have taken place, from the vast quantities of human bones discovered at about two or three feet beneath the surface. Indeed, from an inspection of the eastern cliff, it will be seen, that the stratum next below the vegetable mould consists almost entirely of human bones, mixed with made earth, rubble, himestone, chalk, and flints; and at one place beneath this, for an extent of thirty or forty feet along the cliff, is a stratum of four inches in thickness, composed entirely of ashes and human bones. Not unfrequently, whole skeletons are discovered, lying in various directions, in these strata. Coins, and other antiquities are also very frequently found, particularly in the stratum of ashes. It will be seen, also, that the

stratum is deepest at nearly midway between the northern and southern walls of the castle, and that immediately beneath this is the natural soil, a solid pit sand, interspersed with sea shells.

From these facts, it seems not unreasonable to suppose, that the area of the castle was at one time, perhaps, almost entirely built over; and although it may startle our modern ideas of a city, to imagine that the town of Rutupiæ existed within the circuit of the present walls, we cannot refrain from suggesting that such appears to us to have been the case. The Roman colonial towns are well known to have been confined within a small compass, and to have been protected by strong walls.— If, therefore, the city existed elsewhere in the neighbourhood of the castle; as on the western side, for instance, according as some suppose, how is it that we have no traces either of its walls or of its buildings? Was it likely to occur that the Romans, the masters of the world, equally wise as powerful, would have built their city without walls, on a spot so likely to be attacked by an enemy, while they took such especial care, as the thickness of the walls of this castle sufficiently indicates, for the protection of their garrisons? Or can we suppose, that the walls of the city were more likely to be utterly demolished than those of a strong hold, which it is always the first endeavour of an enemy to annihilate? We are of opinion, therefore, that the area of what is now considered to have been the castle, was in fact the site of the city, and that this, having at some time been taken by the enemy, the inhabitants were massacred, and the town itself reduced to ashes. If this were not the case, how is it that we find such disorder in the arrangement of the soil, which is a mixture, in fact, of the ruins of buildings, and human remains. With regard to the stratum of ashes in the cliff, before noticed, some may argue, perhaps, that this, as the Romans were accustomed to burn their dead, was formed from some such burning of remains after a conflict; but to this it may be replied, that, had such been the case, we should not have found whole skeletons of unburnt bodies in the very stratum itself, which the author of the present essay has himself disco-And more, if it be admitted, that these bodies were afterwards buried, we should not have found them disposed in every direction; a

certain proof of the bodies having been buried without care or distinction. Indeed, their situation is such as might be supposed would result from the destruction of a town and the general massacre of its inhabitants.

In connection with the city of *Rutupiæ*, we have also to notice the Amphitheatre, distant from the south-west angle of the ruins about 460 yards. Its centre bears south 46 degrees west; is now about 11 feet deep, and measures from the north-west to the south-east point, about 68 yards; in the opposite direction, it is 70 yards, and 7 feet deep. It was no doubt, at one time, very considerably deeper, the margins being worn away, and the interior filled up by the operations of husbandry, the plough being annually driven over the soil.

Among the best evidences of the antiquity of a place are the coins, remains of armour, and other reliques found about it and its vicinity.— With such evidences the castle of Richborough and its neighbourhood About twenty or thirty years ago, Mr. Boys, the antiquarian of Sandwich, and author of the history of that place, accompanied by several other gentlemen, made researches here, particularly within the area of the castle, and near the cross before alluded to, and discovered a subterraneous passage, in which were found various articles of Roman armour, coins, and other antiquities. A beautiful glass lachrymatory, now in the possession of a gentleman resident in Sandwich, has since been found in the soil within the walls of the castle; and coins of almost all the Emperors, from the Cæsars downwards to the time of the departure of the Romans from this island, are repeatedly turned up by the plough. Of these, the coins of the Constantines, Gallienus, and Valens, are the most common. Here have also been found some of that kind of coins which are generally considered to be more ancient than those of Constantine, and are made of the metal called electrum, which was of brass, and contained about one fourth of gold. They are generally concavo-convex, or hollow on the one side, which is the reverse, and bear either Pagan symbols or a horse, and the word Tascio around it; the other side has a head, sometimes crowned with laurels.— Others, also, of the same kind of metal, but still more ancient, have

been found here; one side of them is rugged and unstamped, and the other has a horse or wheel, or some such symbol.

Upon these reliques, it appears unnecessary to make further remark in the present tract; the fact of their being frequently discovered on the spot, sufficiently proves that they were used there, and in some abundance; and that the place itself was populous, and commanding subjection from the surrounding country. LII.—Antient Charters respecting Monastical and Lay Property in Cumberland, and other Counties in the North of England; from Originals in the Possession of William John Charlton, of Hesleyside, Esq, accompanied with Abstracts of them in English, and some prefatory and illustrative Remarks by the Rev. John Hodgson, Sec., addressed to John Adamson, Esq., Sec.

Whelpington, Sept 28, 1850.

DEAR SIR,

'L'he following antient muniments are copied from originals in the possession of William John Charlton, of Hesleyside, Esq., and came into his family in 1680, by the marriage of his great-great-grandfather with Mary, daughter of Francis Salkeld, of Whitehall, in the parish of Aspatria, in Cumberland, Esq. The copy of them now sent to you has been made with scrupulous attention to accuracy by Mr. P. Mackay, my assistant in such matters, and since collated with the originals by myself; and I hope the Council of the Society will not deem them unworthy of a place in the Archæologia Æliana; for such documents form by far the most valuable parts of parochial and county history, of which they are indeed the bones and sinews, and want only the breath of the genius of history to be blown upon them to make them live and bloom through long ages of futurity. Travellers and scholars have dug all over the earth, and ransacked all the archives and depositories of the world for inscriptions and manuscripts relating to the dynasties and people of antiquity: even fragments of memorials on stone, and damp-eaten tatters of books, have been illustrated with notes and commentaries, in works upon which the

republic of letters have put the stamp of immortality. With documents of the kind, which I now lay before the Society, many of the affections of human nature, and of the interests of our country, are strongly connected. Descendants of many of the persons, who put their seals upon them, are still living and preserving their genealogies bright and unbroken down the stream of 800 years: and, though many of the institutions they relate to have been overthrown by violence and legal enactments, some of them still remain. They have ceased to be valuable for the single and special purposes for which they were made; but time has formed them into invaluable materials for histories of men and places. For the entablatures and capitals of genealogical structures, they form the most appropriate enrichments. Dugdale's Monasticon owes to them almost all its interesting and graphic sketches of truth; and Dodsworth's celebrated collection of similar documents afforded the same author the brightest jewels for his baronage; it was indeed his Liber Veritatis.— Records of grants to monasteries and to private persons form a large portion of the rich treasures of the Record Rooms, in the Tower and Chapter House, in London. Some families still hold the papers of their estates from very remote periods, and freely permit them to be inspected for historical purposes: but, it is deeply to be lamented, that when estates have been transferred by sale or mortgage, from one hand to another, the antient charters concerning them, which were no longer useful as title deeds, but still valuable as elements of history, have been too frequently and indiscriminately destroyed;—lamented, because, they are the only evidences and the noblest memorials that a family can possess of the hereditary virtue and prudence which have kept its possessions entire and free from the humiliating loads which indolence and extravagance entail upon them, and lamented because it was only from them that any account of certain periods of our country could be derived.

Many persons and bodies even of learned men have, I know, objections to publishing grants and papers like these; but I look cheerfully far over and beyond all such impediments that lie in my way, and would gladly say to this Society, fill your Transactions with county muniments,

and they will continue a treasure-house for almost every kind of history, and afford the healthiest food that the mind of genuine patriotism can be nurtured and maintained with. They will make the villages that gave us birth, and the fields that gave us food, objects of veneration and affection, and subjects for enquiry to ourselves and posterity. Let us not then, I beseech you, suffer our Institution to languish for want of zeal and labour, in promoting the objects for which it was formed.— Every member by turning his attention to the subject, may procure from the public offices and libraries of our country, or from private collections of muniments, most valuable materials for our Transactions which I would most gladly see converted into a great laboratory for the historian to work in; into a garden of perennial flowers, to gather honey from.— During the eighteen years in which we have been incorporated as a body, these Transactions have not hitherto reached the conclusion of the second volume; and a considerable portion of the parts that have been published have been made up of subjects of a very general nature; while far the greater part of the spacious and highly interesting field of local history that surrounds us, has been left either totally wild and unreclaimed, or if the plough-share of enquiry has ever passed over it, the furrows which it opened have immediately closed For my own part, even with an author's not uncommon behind it. guest,—res angusta domi—and many other discouraging difficulties in my way, I feel a spirit within me that forbids me to abandon the interests and objects of this Society, and urges me over all the forms of deference and order, to rouse into life and activity the genius that watches over our destinies, and I do trust that this appeal to your honour, and call for your assistance in the cause we have engaged in, will not be made in vain.

I add to these general remarks, a genealogy into which I have worked some notices of the persons who were parties to several of the deeds, and to each of the deeds have given an abstract and some explanatory remarks, with the hope of obviating a part at least of an objection I have often heard urged against printing records in dead or foreign languages. Where abstracted is added to the Latin of the charters, they have been

abridged by leaving out their formal parts. The rest of them, on account of their high antiquity, have been preserved entire.

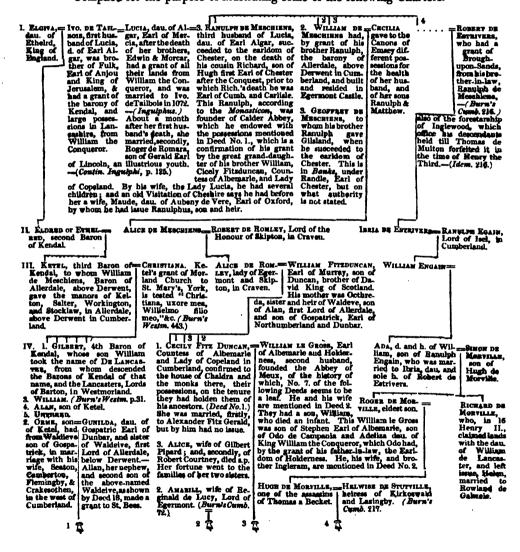
From, Dear Sir,

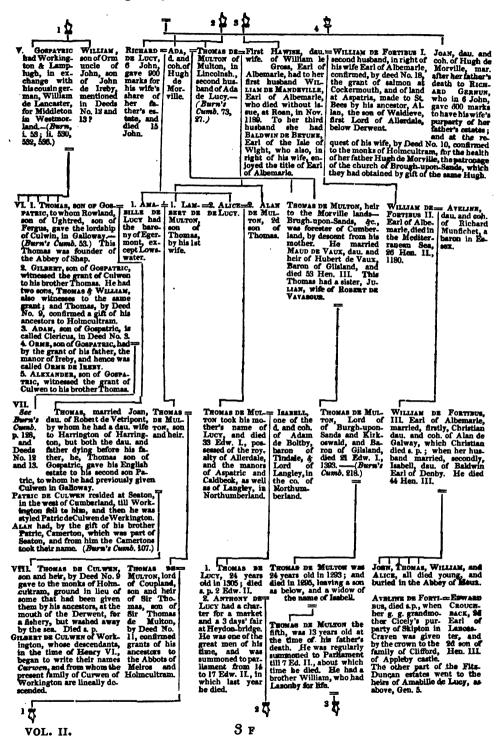
Your's truly,

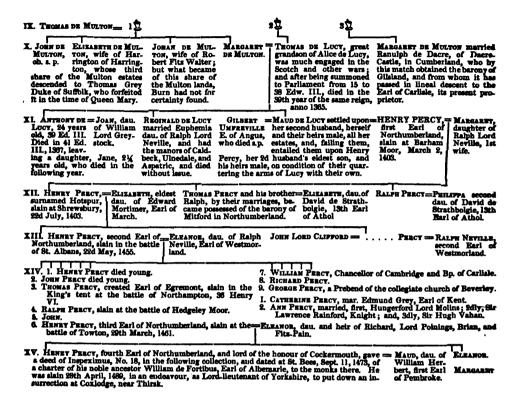
JOHN HODGSON.

PEDIGREE OF THE TAILBOIS AND MESCHENS FAMILIES.

Compiled for the purpose of illustrating some of the following Charters.







MONASTICAL CHARTERS.

1. CALDRE.—C. comitissa d'alt. & dna d'Caupelanda. omibz minist's tre sue & hoibz suis francis & anglis. & omibz fidelibz suis. Sat. Sciatis

^{1.} This is a confirmation made by Cicely, countess of Albemarle and lady of Coupland to the house of Chaldra and the Monks there, of Chaldra, and Bemerton, and Holegate, a manse in the borough of Egremont, two salt-pans in Withoue, one fishery in the Derwent and another in the Egre, with sufficient pasture in her forest, and all things necessary for their salt-pans, fisheries, houses, and swine, without pannage—all which possessions and privileges were granted to that house, by her great-grandfather, Ranulph de Meschiens—and to which she added in this charter the gift of Stovenerge, with its appurtenances, in free alms for ever, and whatever had been granted to them in the charters and writings of former donors; and all privileges they had enjoyed under her ancestors, particularly soc and sac, toll and them, and infangenthef.

me osensu & consilio amico 4 meo 4 dedisse & ocessisse. & hac mea carta ofirmasse do & sce WARIE & domui d chaldra . & monachis ibid do seruientiba in libam . pura . * ppetua elemosina p ala patis mei * matis mee . * Regis Henrici . * salute mea . * salute omiū fideliū Chaldra cū omibz ptinentijs suis . * Bemtona cū omibz ptinentijs suis . * Holegatā cū omibz ptinentijs suis . in siluis . in pascuis . * unā Mansurā in burgo d' Egremt solam & quieta ab oi seruicio. & duas salinas ad Withoue . * piscaria d deruenta . * piscaria d Egre . * pascua omiba aïalibz eon in foresta mea q'ntū eis op fuerit. * ea que necessaria fuerint salinis suis & piscarijs suis . & edficijs domo2 suarū . & porcis suis sine panagio p tota fram mea sicut meis pprijs. Prefea ocedo eis * confirmo Bdicte . s . domui . in pura . libam . * ppetua elemosina stouenergā cū omibz ptinentijs suis . * quicq'd eis datū est in elemosinā sicut carte & cyrographa donatou suou testant'. Quare uolo & firmi? pcipio. ut omia ista teneant in pace. bene. libere honorifice. integre . * plenarie . cum socha * sacha . * tol . * them . * infangenthef . * cū omib; alijs libtatib; . * libis osuetudinib; * cōmoditatib; q d pdictis tris queniunt ut quenire possunt. * quietantijs suis sicut unq'm meli9 & liberi9 & quieti9 tempore antecesso2 meo2 tenuerunt . & sicut carte eou testant. His Test. Rob. ostabulario. Ysaac d scheftling. Symone & scheftling. Witho & chirteling. Witho & scheftling . Thoma capellano comitisse.

2. In noie pat's . * filij . * spirit? sci am; Ego Willm? de essebi * uxor mea hectred . sce mat's ecclie filijs ī dno sat . * sci sp? cosolationē

^{2.} William de Esseby and Hectred his wife, for the health of their own souls, of the souls of their parents, and of their lord, William, earl of Albemarle, and of his wife Cicely, the countess, and of Ingelram the earl's brother, and of their father and mother, taking into consideration how useful and necessary it is to all christians amidst the malice of the times and the vexatious temptations that are known to be continually springing up; and desirous of doing some act of justice, in this most miserable life, that might avail before the eyes of Almighty God, in procuring the redemption of their sins and eternal life, gave to Almighty God and the holy Mary his sweet mother, and to the abbey of Caldra, Becheremet and its appurtenances, as well in waters as pastures, with the mill of the same ville, and the fishery in the Ehgena, pertaining to the same village, which grant they made to the said abbey, in free alms, and as a sweet odour. Peace, health, and blessedness to all who in true charity shall maintain this our elemosinary deed. The Deed is signed by ecclesias-

...

. Vtile prsus & õib xõianis necessariū e . in malicias dierū istou . * molestias teptationu. g cotidie pullulare noscunt. aliq'd iusticie i hac miserrima uita puide : qd ī etna uita ad redemtione peccator, suor ante di omipotetis oculos ualeat subuenire, vnde ego & uxor mea p salute aīarū nostrar * parentū nostron . * p salute dni ñri Wiltmi comiti' de albemar . * uxori' sue cecilie comitisse . * ingelrami frat's Bdicti comiti. patrū matrūq eou donam? . & cocedim? do opotēti . * sce marie dulci sue mai . * abbie de caldra : becheremet * oia ad ea ptinentia ta ī aq's . q'm ī pascu' . * molendinū ī eadē uilla . * piscaria in ehgena ad eande uilla ptinente. Qua donatione ita liba. * ab ōi seruicio q'eta . sic pdict? dns meus Willm? comes ea m' p seruitio meo libo . * humagio donauit . * put carta ipio testat' : damo * cocedimo . Bsenti scripto ofirmam9. Bdicte abbie i ppetua elemosina. * i odorē suauitati. Q'sq's hāc elemosinā nostrā ī uera caritate manutenuerit! sit illi pax . salus . * bndictio . Hui? donacioni testes sunt . Ricard? pior de sca bega. Rob Bsbit de puncunesby. Rog Bsbit de egremund . Jurdanº psona de goseford . Ricardº filiuº Osberti de sca brigida . * Ricard9 ei9dē ecctie uicari9. Ketel filiu9 vlf.

3.—Adam fili? Uhtredi omibz amicis suis & honbz. tā fut'is q'm presentibz: sat. Sciatis me ¿cessisse. & hac mea karta ¿firmasse Beat'ci nepti mee. v^q: bouatas tre. ex dono With nepotis mei in killecruce. sibi & filiis & filiabz suis. ita libere & quiete. sicut karta With nepotis mei filii Liolf de molle testat. Hiis test. Cospatrico fit orm. & Thoma filio ei? . Adam clerico fit cospat'ci. Patricio fit Gamel. Gilebto fit Gilebti. Adam de coresbi. Orm fit Ailfi. Adam de bas.

tics, in the neighbourhood of Beckermet and Caldre. What relationship William de Esseby, and Hectred his wife, had to the earls of Albemarle, I have found no clue to discover. By the calender to the inquests after death it appears that a William de Esseby, in 33 Hen. III., died, possessed of lands in Cattesby, Newbottle, Creke, and Lilleburne, in Northamptonshire.—(Vol. i. p. 6.)

^{3.} Adam, son of Uhtred by this deed confirms to Beatrice his neice, 5 bovates of land given to her in Killecruce, by his nephew William, son of Liolf de Molle. It was this Beatrice, I apprehend, who, under the name of Beatrice de Molle, gave to Caldre Abby 5 bovates of land in Little Gilcruce, and a fourth part of the mill of Greater Gilcruce.—See Burn's Cumb. 28, 115; and Hutch. Cumb. 174, 347, for illustrations of this deed.

tunthuait. Cospaticio de de plumlund. Alano fit ketel. Vhtido fit ketel. Thoma fit ysaac. Benedicto sacdote de aspatic. Vhido sacdote de crossebi. Rogo sacdote de Irebi. Valete.

4.—Ricard? de boisuilla. õib; amicis suis. Francis. & Anglis. has litas audientibz & uidntibz tam ßeentibz q² fut'is sat. Notū sit uob me p salute āle mee. & pālabz pris & mat's mee. nec ñ & amicoz ut parentū meoz. concessisse. & dedisse. & hac ßeenti carta mea ofirmasse. do. & bate marie. & abbacie de Cald. & monachis ibide deo seruientibz. decē achras tre sīfra partē meā de Culdretun. ĉ cōmuni pascuo ad ßdictā tram ptiñte. ī liberam. & puram. & ppetuam elemosinam. tenendas de me & heredibz meis ab ōi sclari seruicio q'etas. Hui? donationis testes sūt. Robtus decanus. Robt? ßebr d punchunebi. Robt? ßebr d Egremd. Ricard? ßebr d becchiremd. Withs de boisuilla. Johs fili? ade. Alexand fili? ade. Gilebtus fr ei?. Gilebt? de boisuile. Woldef de beckirmeth. Adā fili? Ketelli. yuuain de Hale & mtti alij.

5.—Sciant \(\beta\)sentes \(\varepsilon\) futuri \(\q \) ego Johes de Hudlesto\(\overline{n}\) concessi deo \(\varepsilon\) beate \(\Overline{n}\) arie de Caldr\(\varepsilon\) monachis ibidem deo seruientib\(\gamma\) pastur\(\varepsilon\) sequela ea\(\q \q \) vni\(\rangle \) anni \(\cdot\) q\(\text{tuor eq's} \(\varepsilon\) q\(\text{draginta ouib}\) c\(\varepsilon\) sequela ea\(\q \q \) vni\(\rangle \) anni \(\gamma\) tot\(\varepsilon\) ann\(\varepsilon\) in c\(\varepsilon\) muna pastura de Milnum \(\q \text{draginta}\) in hoc sc'pto continetur ad salinam su\(\varepsilon\) de Milnum appendent\(\varepsilon\). Saluis \(\varepsilon\) car-

^{4.} Richard de Boisville for the good of the souls of himself and his father, mother, friends, and parentage by this deed granted to God and the blessed Mary, and the Abbot of Caldra and the Monks serving God there, nine acres of land in his part of Caldretun, with common of pasture and other appurtenances. The Boisville family had a grant of Millum from William de Meschiens. Their heiress, in the time of Henry the Third, married into the Huddleston family. There is no mention of this Richard de Boisville in the histories of Cumberland.—(Burn. Nich. Cumb. p. 10.)

^{5.} John de Huddleston grants to the Abbey of Caldre pasture for 4 horses, and for six cows and their calves of one year's old; and for 40 sheep and their lambs till one year's old, in the common pasture of Millum, on condition of their not keeping a greater quantity of cows, horses, or sheep as appendages to their salt pans there, saving to the Monks there the other privileges granted to them in the Charters of his ancestors; and further granting to them that their place for carrying on their salt works, at Sandslof, should contain two acres, and that they might turn the Ruttanpul on such manner that it should do no injury to their said works.

tis ancessou meou dnou de Oilnu Bdcam salina tangentiba i oiniba aliis articulis suis. Concessi & Bfatis monach q habeant illam placea sua que vocat' sandslof in q'intitate dua a acra tre & illam in eadem q'intitate in posteru cotinuent ad faciend de sabulo infra ipam placea contento omia appamta que exinde eis puenire potint ad dem sabulu sup tram Bfate saline ptinente cariandu & sal suu inde sumend et alia necessaria comoda sua inde rationabitit faciend sn odcone mei ut hedu meon îppetuu. Concessi inst Bfatis monach q possint diûtere le Ruttanpull de Bdca placea sicut meli9 potuerint ne p cursum eiusd in Bdca placea dampnum aliquod ut jactura incurrant. H'oïa Bdca concessi Bfatis monach in libam pura * ppetua elemosinam cū omibus cõibus ajsiamtis bdce ville de Oillnum liba q'eta & soluta ab omi seculari suico secta cosuetudiē & demanda. Sicut sac'ficm altaris. Incui? rei &c. Hiis testibz Dño Robto de hauerigton Willo de Bethm . Willo de Thuaytes . Johe Corbet . Johanne de Morthing € aliis . Dat apud Oilnum in Oense ap'lis Anno Regni Reg Edwardi filii Reg Henr quintodecimo. -(Abstract.)

6. Sciant βsentes ≈ suturi que ego Johes silius Johis de Hideleston dedi ≈ concessi ≈ hac βsenti carta mea q'etuclamaui deo ≈ be marie ≈ Abbie de Caldr ≈ monachis ibidem deo seruientib; Willim siliu Ricard de lostscales quonda natiuu meu cu tota sequela sua ≈ catall suis, Ita que

^{6.} This curious document is an assignment made in 1291, by John, son of John de Huddleston, of William, son of Richard de Loftscales, formerly his native, with all his retinue and chattels, to the Abbot and Monks of Caldre. It is, in fact, that species of grant of freedom to a slave, which is called manumission implied, in which the lord yields up all obligation to bondage, on condition of the native agreeing to an annual payment of money on a certain day. The clause, "So that from this time they may be free, and exempt from all state servitude and reproach of villainage from me and my heirs," is very curious, especially to persons of our times, in which there has been so much said about the pomp of Eastern lords, and the reproachful slavery in which their dependents are still kept. Here the Monks of Caldre redeemed a man his family and property from slavery, on condition of his paying them the small sum of two-pence a year. The Huddleston family were seated at Millum, in the time of Henry the Third, when they acquired that estate, by the marriage of John de Huddleston with the lady Joan, the heiress of the Boisville family. Slavery continued to thrive on the soil of Northumberland long after the time of Edward the First: for in 1470, Sir Roger Widdrington manumitted his native, William Atkinson, for the purpose of making him his bailiff of Woodhorn.—Hist. Northumb. II. ii. 187.

amodo sint liti & quieti de me & hedib; meis ab omi uanitate & calūpnia villenagii inppetuū nec liceat m' nec hedib; meis in pdcos Willm sequelam suam vi catalla aliquod jus vi clamiū deceto exige vi vendicare. Et pdcus Wills obligauit se p tota sequela sua pdce domui de Caldra in annuo redditu duon denar ubicūq, fuint comorantes ad festū sci Pet ad vincuta imppetuū singlis annis pdce domui fidelit soluendon in recognicone libtatis pce. Et vi h donaco concessio & q'etaclamaco rata et firma inppetuū pseueret psens sciptū in signo & firmitate libtatis sue eisdem fieri feci anno r. r. E. vicesimo. In cui? rei testimoniū psenti s'pto sigillū meu apposui. Hiis test Willmo Wailburthuait. Willmo Thuaites. Johe de mordling. Johe Corbet. Johe de Halle & aliis.

WILL'MS ABBAS DECIM' SEPTIM9

7. ...eūi iustus fuit vt nullus eū aduocato in consistorio circūuenire potuit no a cognicoe iusticie in ca aliqua face deuiare. Post que sedit

^{7.} This, I apprehend, is a leaf of some book of the Abbey of Meaux or Melsa, which contained a history of the lives of the Abbots of that house. The Abbey itself was founded by William de Fortibus, husband of Cecily, great grand-daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland. It was situated on rising ground, but hemmed with swamps and marshes. Part of the property given to it by its founder, was the wood of Rude, from which the marsh of Rude, mentioned in this document, probably had its name. I have seen no account in books on monastic history, or in catalogues of MSS. of any work expressly upon the lives of the abbots of this house, of which their is rather a long history in the edition of Dugdale's Monasticon, in 1682; but in the Cottonian library there is a manuscript parchmentbook in small folio, consisting of 246 folios, which contains "the names of the feoffors of the Monastery of Melsa or Meaux, and of the places, lands, tenements, and rents belonging to that house, with abstracts of its charters, feoffments, confirmations, releases, quit claims, and exchanges, and concluding with a table of the chapters, of little use." The following MSS. respecting this house, are in the Lansdowne library.—1. A History of the Abbey of Melsa. This is a transcript, and occupies 53 pages .- 2. The Register of the Abbey of Melsa or Meaux, written on vellum in the 15th century. It appears to have belonged to Christopher Hilyard in 1553; and contains of 160 folios. It consists of Pope's Bulls, Charters of the Bishops and Chapter of York, Royal grants, and compositions, privileges, various charters, &c. &c. from 1273 to 1373. Its original index is unfinished, and it is defective at its end.—3. Bishop Kennet's Collections, from an ancient parchment cartulary of Melsa, in the possession of James, bishop of Lincoln, in 9 folios.—4. Memoranda, by the same Prelate, from a MS. History of Chronicles of the Abbey of Meaux, in 3 folios.

Gregorius 11. cu? tepe iusticia fuit venalis in curia. * cardinales in diusis regnts optīa queq, bñificia optīnuere abbaciat? vid priorat? diaconatus ardiaconatus * alias dignitates ac pbendas nec non * ecctias pochiales ptrimas vbiq, tra?. vt aliquis eo? vij vt viij abbaciat? * priorat? Pralias dignitates * bnificia pir possideret. De ipo itaq, pp Greg in sequentib; tepe dni Wiffmi abbis 18. ampuils referetur. Anno eciā dni 1369 cia pestilencia fuit in Anglia.

WILLMS ABBAS OCTAUUS DECIMUS.—De creacione dni Willmi de Scardburgh abbis 18; de clausura campi de Northgingo a marisco de Ruda; de fossato de Monkdyk & alijs.

Anno dni 1372 mortuo vt Bmitit' pie memorie dno Willmo de Drynghowe abbe não 17, elect? fuit in p'rem & pastore mon nãi das Willms de Scardburgh qui Cellerari9 extitit p 16 annos Bcedentes in die videlt sci Desiderij epi quo die contingebat fm sce Trinitatis in octauis Pont solepnit celebrari. Nam in electione tuc p futuro abbe celebrata conuet? adhuc equalit divisi fuerūt. Quon media ps pscriptū frem Johem de Hull priorem elegit in abbem : sed & alta media ps frem Johem de Newton Bdcm ipi priori in singulis adusante eidm in abbaciatu Bferre conabatur. Non tamē q, aliqua ipar, ptiū, quod mirabile fuit, electū suam mere voluit assumere in abbem : sæ q vtraq ps electū suu alti Bferre deliberauit ne * ipe alt sibi Bficeretur nulli alio sibi Bferendo intim intendentes. Et cū ideo conuēt? sup vnico eis Bferendo p duoz, dien spaciū cocordare nequiuissent. tandin deus dns Willms de Scardburgh celleraris vir simplex ingenij, rectus tamen in ope, in ministio solicit, ac peere et elegans stature, p commissione noit fuerat in abbem cū prius ad abbaciatum nullaten? fuisset suspicatus . ¶ Hic quidm abbas anno dni 1389 diuisit fossato campu de Northgang' a marisco de Ruda vocat le Whytkerr int angim de Bennerls & aliud clausum nrm dict' le Park versus le Wythdyk, Johe de Roos dno de Rowth, dno Johe de Rowth milit ≆ aliis libere tenētibz in Rowth consencientibz ≆ cōsulentibz in hac pte . ita ut cū antique diuise in dictū campum de Northg'ng' * Bfatū mariscū de Rowth p quosdam puteos quasi p iactū lapidis

ab inuicem distantes paterent eniden? . dem fossatu in solo neo perio in Bfato campo de Northg'ng' concet'. vt ipe antique dinise ex dem fossatum p trium pedum spaciū remanerēt . vt si quando in futurū idem fossatu nim dari deberet a dilatari in solo nio pp'o p deo fossato dilatado foderemo quatino idem mariscus de Ruda abso, não purpistura psisteret integer & illibatus. Que ecia campu ab infiori pte dei fossati vepribus, spinis, virgultis & salicibus fecat comuniri. Nam ante ma tepa bestie e adia in deco marisco de Rowth pastencia blada e p'ta nri in capo de Northging' gipluria depascentia miserabilit conculcarut. ¶ Eiusdm ecia abbis tepe Petrus Hylyard de Arnalt qui de nobis tenebat p homagiū quenda pcellam capitalis messuagii sui a alia tenementa in Arnati implacitauit nos de plurimis dapnis sibi fcis vt asseruit in deftū mndacois fossatau sine sewerau de Monkdyk, Wythdyke, & le esthedyk & insup ipan defect? cora justiciariis fecat psentari. Cui quidm Psentacoi p placitū * veridem aliquot conati sum? cottire. eo q. ipa fossata no fuert coes swere ab antiquo. Esi swere essent nos ad ipaq mndacoem seu repacoem soli minime tenerem nisi p quatitate traca nran eis adjacenem. Se villate e alij p suis peellis adiacentiba p reliquo repaccis eaudm pviderēt. Sed quia ipm placitu fine debitu non est sortitū e villate ac alij adjacentes ead fossata mindare e repare neclexerūt pcessum hui? placiti huic operi addere non curam? * eo pcipue sicut patet p tenuras carta a nra a onus pime fodicois condim ppi duct? * decensus aquan supion ad molendina.

8. Holm Cultram.—Unidsis xpi fidelibz psentes littas visuris ut audituris Withs filius Gillecrist de Alnebach salutē. Sciatis me gratum a ratum hre totam donacionem quam Withs de Sceftling fecit monachis de Holmcoltra sup piscaria de Alne a omnibz ptinentiis suis put melius plenius continet in carta eiusdem With quam idem monachi int de eo. Et ne ego ut aliquis heredum meoz aliquod clamiu grauamen seu

^{8.} This is a confirmation made by William, son of Gillchrist, of Alnburgh, of a gift which William of Scettling made to the Monks of Holmcultram, respecting a fishery upon the Alne, which had been given to them by Richard de Alnburgh, and William, son of Simon Sheftling.—(Burn and Nich. Cumb., 172.)—Isaac, Symon, and William Scheftling are witnesses to Deed, No. 1.

molestiā sup communia eiusdem piscarie ut sup aliquibz que ad eam ptinent contra tenorem carte quam habent de eodm Witto eisdem monachis inppetuum facere possimus. Psens scriptum impssione sigilli mei roboratum Pfatis monachis contuli in testimoniū ppetue quiete clamationis. Hiis testibz Patricio de Wirkington. Ada de Neuton. Rob de Karlaton. Walto de vluesbig tunc officiat Karti. Rob dec Brisckirke. Rīc de Alneb.ch. \approx aliis

9. Universis Thomas fili? Gilbti de Culwenne . Saltm in dño sempitnam. Nouit vniusitas vra me inspexisse ac intellexisse cartas antecessou meou q' testant' predictos antecessores meos dedisse & gcessisse deo * beate marie de Holmecolt* * monachis ibidem deo seruientib; * eou successoriba in libam puram & ppetuam elemosinam. vnam placeam tre sup ripam aque de Derwent . ad sustentacõem piscarie eorundē monachou in Derwent. Q' q'dem placea tre p maiori pte p inundactem Bdce aque de Derwent & maris inundata est & asportata. ita qd necessaria sua ad sustentacoem seu refeccoem Bdce piscarie comode nito modo possūt hre. Qua pp? ego pdcs Thom pdcas asportacoem et inundacoem p salte aie mee . * aia4 antecesso4 meo4 * successo4 . restituere uolens. Dono & ocedo p me & hedibz meis ac assignatis deo & beate Oarie & Bdictis monach de Holmcolt'n & eog successoribz totam illam placeam tre annexam placie eo4de monacho4 ex parte boriali uers? orientem q' jacet int sulcum q'm feci there & mare . sup ripam predce aque de Derwent in recompensaction partis Bdce placie re asportate & innundate. Tenenda &c. Et ego & hedes mei seu assignati. Warantizabim⁹ in ppetuum. In cui⁹ &c.. Hiis testib₃. Dñis Robto de Feritate Robto de Hauirington . * Thom de Neuton militibz . Thom de Ribbeton. Witto le Venur. Johne le Fraunceis de mebornmatild Hugon de Brunfeld. Adam de Thorisby. Witto de Sismonderlawe. * aliis.—(Abstract.)

^{9.} Thomas, son of Gilbert de Culwenne, having inspected certain charters of his ancestors respecting a place on the bank of the Derwent, given by them to the Abbey of Holm-cultram, for the support of a fishery in that river, which place having been inundated and almost wholly carried away by a flood of the Derwent and the sea, by this charter, gave them the whole place next adjoining theirs on the north and east, and which laid between the sea-bank and a furrow which he had caused to be drawn.

- 10. Universis Sancte Matris Ecchie filiis Ricard Gernun Salt. Sciatis me uoluntate & petitione Johanne spouse mee concessisse & presenti carta confirmasse deo & Beate Oarie & monachis de Holmcolt in ppetuā elemosinā p salute aïarum nïarum & p aïa Hug. de Ooreuilt & p aïab õium añcesso & successo & nño & . Donum eiusdem Hugonis de Ooreuilt ueri patroni ecclesie de Burg. libum & q'etum de omni catupnia nïa & heredum nño & q'm ecchiam de Burg integra cum omibz ptintiis suis idem Hug eisdem monachis in ppetuā elemosinā habendam donavit sicut in ei sc'pto auctentico continetur. Hiis Test Radulfo de la ferte. Ric filio Radulfi. Rogo folioth. Witto de Toresbi. Adam de Wigel, Toma de Brunfeld. Witto de Bochardebi. Fabieno de Aỳkettun. Ricard fre eius. Alano Buche. & vnuso capitlo Cūberand.
- 11. Omibz hoc scriptum visur vel auditur Thomas de Oulton dns Couplandie filius & hes dni Thom de Oulton Salutem in dno Sempitnam. Noultis me inspexisse & intellexisse cartas monumenta & conuencones quas religiosi viri Abbas & Conuent de Holmcoltran hent ex dono & concessione antecesson meon & alion Videlicet quamdam cartam dni Thome filij dni Thome de Oulton ancessoris mei p quam dedit Abbi & Conuentui de Oelros in libam puram & ppetuam elemosinam tram in

^{10.} Richard Gernun, at the request of his wife, Joan, and for the health of their own souls, and of the soul of Hugh de Morville, confirmed to the monks of Holmcultram the gift which the said Hugh had made to the said monks of the church of Brugh-uponsands, in Cumberland.

^{11.} Thomas de Multon, lord of Coupland, son and heir of Thomas de Multon, having inspected certain charters and muniments which his ancestors and others had given to the monks of Holmcultram—namely, a charter of Sir Thomas, son of Sir Thomas de Multon, his ancestor, by which he gave to the abbot and convent of Melros land in the ville of St. Botulph to make buildings upon for them and their successors; and, moreover, a charter of the same abbot and convent of Melros to the abbot and convent of Holmcultram, respecting the same ground in St. Botulph; and also a charter of Gilbert, son of Gilbert, of Dundragh, by which he gave to Holmoultram twenty acres of arable land, in the town of Distington, and other four acres of ground, according to his charter; and also one small mussa below Stotfold to make a curtilage; and pasture in the field of Distington for 600 sheep, 8 oxen, 7 cows, 1 bull, and 2 horses; and a peatry, and materials for making their sheepfolds and hemmels out of the wood of Distington, and for their hedges out of Hodfaldskogh; and covering for their houses in the territory of Distington: and also two charters, by which Hugh de Moriceby gave to the same house of Holmcultram six acres of arable land, and four acres of meadow, in Distington-Now he by this his deed for himself and heirs, confirmed to the said abbot and convent of Holmcultram all the aforesaid grants.

villa de sco Botulpho ad edificia sibi e successoriba suis facienda put in carta dei dii Thom. plenius continetter. Et sup hoc cartam ei de Abbtis & Conuentus de Melros deis Abbti & conventui de holmcoltran de eadem tra in dea villa de seo Botulpho editam Et etiam cartam dili Gilbti fit Gilberti de Dundragh p quam dedit a concessit deo a Ecce sce Marie de Holmcoltran & monachis ibidem deo suientiba in libam puram & ppetuam elemosinam viginti acras tre arabilis in villa de Diatington infra certas diuisas & quatuor alias acras terre infra alias divisas put carta einsdem dii Gilberti filii Gilbti plenius testatur. Et paruam Mussam* Subtus Stodfald ad Curtilagiū faciend € pasturam in campo de Distington, ad Sex Centas oues octo bones Septem vaccas vnū tauram * ad duos equos * petariam * materiam ad caulas* * ad omlia* sua facienda de bosco de Distington & materiam sepibus suis de Stodfaldskogh * cooptoriu domib; suis in tritorio de Distington. Et etiam duas cartas ex dono * concessione Hugonis de Poriceby fcas eisdem Abbti * conventui de Holmcoltran in libam puram ≆ ppetuam elemosinam de sex acris terre arabilis in villa de Distington & de quatuor acris peti cum ptinenciis in eadem villa put in cartis eiusdem Hugonis distinctius & apertius continetur. Quas quidem donactes concessiones & confirmacoes deis Abbti & Conuentui de Holmcoltran & eon successorib; in libam puram * ppetuam elemosinam pro me * hedibz meis ratifico * confirmo p psentes. Concedo insup p me * hedib; meis pdeos Abbtem * conuentū * eo4 successores ad omia pmissa vers9 quoscumq inppetuū acquietare * defendere. In cui9 rei testimoniū huic Bsente scipto sigillū men appossui. Hiis testiba Dnis Rico de Hodeleston. John le Flemmeng . Johe de Lamplough . Rico de Cleterue . Nicho de Ooriceby militibz Johe de Stikeneye tunc Balliuo de Egremond . Alano de

^{*} Caulds in Scotland are rows of stakes driven into rivers below a ford, so as to make it capable of retaining any stones or gravel that fall into it, and keep its line over the river level and smooth. Jameson says a cauld is a dom head, probably from the idea of its making a pond or keld behind it. Ducange under Caulas says, Manimenta ovium vel sepimenta ovium; but omliss does not occur in his work. The same noble author, under Mussus, quoted an authority to show, that, in one sense at least, it meant a bundle of sticks, or the moss, weeds, or lichens of trees and marshy places:—" Cum pauperes musso, quem de nemore collegerant, oneratos præterire cerneret." But Mussa, in the passage above referred to, seems to mean some small measure or quantity of ground, to convert into a yard, garden, or croft, near or adjoining to a dwelling-house.

Oulton. Robto de Goseford. Lawrencio de Kirkeby. Nicho de Neuband tuc Receptore & aliis.

12. Omibz xpi fidelibus has litras uisuris ut audituris Joh filius Johis de yrebisatm in dño Noditis me p me & heredibz meis quietum clamasse imppetuum dompno abbi & monachis de Holimcolt'n totum ius et clamium si quod habui ut aliqua rõe hre potui in tota tra cū omibz ptinciis suis quam Witts fili? Orim auuncts pris mei eisd abbi & monach in tritorio de Gillecruce in libam puram & ppetua elemosinam dedit & carta sua confirmauit. Ita videlicet sciatis me quietum clamasse qd nec ego n' aliquis heredum meop aut aliq's ali? ex pte mea de ceto jus ut clamium in dcam tram ut aliq'm ei? ptictam pone potim? ullo iure ut rõe. In cui? rei testimoniu huic scripto sigillu meu apposui. Hiis testibz. Dño Walto de vluesby archidio Carti. Dño Gilbto de feritate psona de Bounes. The de Oorisceby psona de vluedat. Rob Vicario de Gillec'ce decano allerd. Witto francigena. Walto Bonekil & aliis.

13. Brugh-upon-Sands.—Oîbz x¹. fidelib? ad q°s psens sc¹ptū puentit. With fit D'rem'. Sat Novit vniversitas uña me quessisse dedisse that psenti carta mea qfirmasse Deo & Eccte to mich d' burg p salute añe mee & p aña pris mei & mris mee & õium parentū meou vnā rodā tre ī Witholy. illā scit q̃ jacet infra ppinq¹or t¹b? rodis eccte uers? Orientē ī eadē cultura Tenendā & hndam ī purā & ppetuā elemosinā tā libe & q¹ete q²m aliq² tra Deo & sce eccte lib¹us & q¹etius p°sit qferri. Hiis Test' Rad d' fitate. Gileb fre ej?. Rob fit D'rem'. Simone d' Sabtis. Thom & Nich fre ej? de T'stanfeld. Ad d' Dikis. Pet° tūc dce Eccte capetto.

14. Lekeley.—Sciant \(\beta \)sentes \(\varphi \) futuri hoc sc\(\text{ptum visuri uel audituri qd} \) ego Johes de Hodelisto\(\text{pro salute anime mee} \(\varphi \) anima\(\text{pro meo} \) concessi \(\varphi \) presenti carta mea confirmaui

^{12.} By this deed, John, son of John de Ireby, quitclaimed to the Lord Abbot and the monks of Holmcultram, all right he had in the lands of Gillecruce, which William, his father's uncle, and the son of Orim gave to that house.—See pedigree, generation v. and vi.

^{13.} William, son D'rem', by this deed gave to the church of St. Michael, of Burgh-[upon-Sands], in Cumberland, for the safety of the souls of himself and of his father, and of all his parentage, one rood of land in Witholay: namely, that which lay low down nearest on the east to the three roods of the church.—See deed, No. 10.

^{14.} John de Hodeliston, for the health of his own soul and of the souls of all his ancestors and successors, confirmed to the monks of Holmcultram all the land of Lekeley, Vol. II.

deo & beate Oarie de Holmcolt m & monachis ibidem deo suientibz totam illam fram de Lekeley quam dicti Abbas & monachi hent ex dono & concessione Gunnilde filie Henrici filii Arturi Tenendam &c. Et ego Johes & hedes mei Warantizabim prefatis Abbi & monachis &c., imppetuū. In cui &c. Hiis testibz dñis Oiche de Hartecla tunc vice-comitte Cumbr. Thom de Culwenne. Robto de hadington. Robto de Feritate. Thom de Neuton. & Robto de Whyterigg militibus. Hugone de Moriceby. Rico de Cleterue. Johe de Morthing & aliis.

15. Sciant psentes & futuri hoc scriptum uisuri ut audituri qd Ego Johanna filia & heres Ade de Milnum in mea uiduitate & ligia potestate p salute anime mee * p salute aie Johis de Hodellston qondam uiri mei * omium ancessou * successou nrou dedi concessi * senti scripto confirmaui p me * hedibus * successorib; meis in libam puram * ppetuam elemosinam totă illam tram de lekeleya integre cu omibz ptinentiis suis sine ullo retinemto : quam dei abbs & monachi int p cartam Gunilde filie Henrici filii arturi . Tenendam & Indam . Ita libam . quietam & solutam ab omi seruicio consuetudine secta placiti exactione & demanda ? Sicut aliqua elemosina potest teneri * hri libius . quieti? . pleni? * melius. Et ego Johanna & hedes ut Successores mei Warantizabim?, &c., totam tram Bnoiatam prefatis abbi & monachis de Holmcolt m & aquie. tabim⁹ eam de omi seruicio & defendem⁹ eam contra omnes homines imppetuu . In cuius rei, &c., testimoniu huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. hiis testibus Dño Patric de Wirkinton. Dño Johe de Langeluierth. Dño Wýdone de Boyuilla. Nicholao de Ooriscebý. Johe de Cambtona. Hugone fre dñi patricii de Wirkinton. Johe de Thuaythes. Willo de Estonhing. Et aliis.

which they had by the gift of Gunnild, the daughter of Henry, son of Arthur. This Henry, father of Gunnild, was Henry Boyville, lord of Millum, whose grand-daughter Joan married Sir John de Hudleston, lord of Anneys, in Millum.—(Burn and Nich. Cumb. p. 10-11.)

^{15.} This is a confirmation to the monks of Holmcultram, made by Joan, daghter and heir of Adam de Milnum, in her widowhood, for the health of her own soul, of John de Hudleston's, her late husband, and of all her ancestors and successors, of all the land in Lekeley which they had by the charter of Gunnild, daughter of Henry, son of Arthur.

16. Seaton Priory.—Hec endent'a facta int Thoma York abbem monastii beate marie de holmcolth m ex pte vna & Elizabeth Cresto p'orissa de seton ex alta pte testat qd dicti abbas & couent? cocesserut & ad firma tadiderut dict p'orisse & couent sue tota illa tra infra esk & Dudyne vocat lekley ad fine duodeci anno preddendo inde annuati durant tmīo pdicto viginti solid. Dat octavo decimo die mens Octob anno Dni Miltmo cccc quinque gesimo.—(Abstract.)

17. Conishead Priory.—Omnibz hoc sc'ptum visur' vel auditur' : Custancia de Hale quonda vx Witimi de punsunby saltm in dño sempitinam. Novitis me in pura viduitate & legia potestate mea remisisse deo & beate Oarie de Conyngesheued & Johni Priori eiusdm & canonicis ibdm do suientibz in libam puram & ppetuam elemosinam totū jus & clamiū quod hui vt aliquo modo here poto in vna roda tre sup Belhousbanck in villa de hale simul cū ecctia eiusdm ville & aduocacoe Ecctie eiusdm. Ita videt qd n° ego n° hedes mei nec aliquis ali? nõie nre in dcis roda tre & ecctia vel in jure patronat? eiusdm aliquid juris vel clamij exige vel vendicare de cetero potim? quoquo modo. Et ego v° pdicta Custancia & hedes mei & assignati mei pdcas cont omnes holes warantizabim? impetuū. In cui?, &c. . Hijs testibz dño Johne Flemynge milite . Johne de Hodelston . Rado de Landploygh . Rico de Clet'gh . Thoma de Frisyngton' . Alexo Punsunby . & aliis—(Abstract.)

18. St. Bees.—Henricus Comes Northumbrie et dns honoris de Cokermouthe. Uniusis et singlis ad quos presentes tre nostre puenint

^{16.} Thomas York, abbot of Holmcultram, by this indenture, 18th Oct. 1459, leased to Elizabeth Creft, prioress of Seaton, all the lands between Esk and Duddon called Lekeley, for 12 years, at the yearly rent of 20s. Seaton was a small priory in the parish of Bootle, and in the manor or township now called Lekeley.—(Burn and Nich. Cumb. 17.)

^{17.} Custance, widow of William Ponsonby, by this grant released to the Priory of Conyngshead (now Conishead) all right in a rood of land upon Belhousbanck, in the ville of Hale, together with the advowson of the church in the same ville. Hale is a small parish between Calder and Egremont, in Cumberland. This Custance was one of the two daughters and coheirs of Alexander de Hale. Her other sister's name was Agnes, whose moiety of her father's estate seems to have past to her sister's descendants, the Ponsonbys, ancestors of the earls of Besborough.

^{18.} This is an inspeximus by Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland, of a charter of William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, by which he gave to God, and the church of St.

Saltm. Et quia Inspeximus quamdam cartam nobilis antecessoris nostri Willmi de Fort comit Albermerlie de diversis concessionibus et donacionibus deo et ecctie sancte Bege de Coupland et monachis ibm deo seruientibus pro salute aie sue et antecessou suou cuius tenor sequit' in hec verba: - Withms de Fort comes Albermerlie omibus has tras visur vel auditur salim. Novit universitas vestra me concessisse et hac presenti charta mea confirmasse deo et ecclie sancte Bege de Coupland et monachis ibm deo servientibus pro salute anime mee et antecesso2 meo2 omes donacões quas habent de antecessoribus meis in feodo meo de Allerdale et de Coupland . scilicet quatuordecim salmones quos habent de dono Alani fit Waldelf et de eadm donacom dimidia carucata terre in villa de Aspatrich et sex acras in alio loco in eadm sicut continet in carta ipius Alani. Pretea dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui sex salmones et vnā mansurā in villa de Cokermouth illā scilicet qua dudu huctredus de Derh'm tenuit. Et viginti solidos singulis annis recipiend de Willmo de Ribbeton de firma sua îmmodo scilicet decē solidos ad pascha et decem solid ad festum sancti Michis saluo seruicio et homagio predči Willi de Ribbeton et heredū suo2 michi et heredibus meis de tenemento illius toto ptinente. Volo autem hec omia predicta habeant de me et heredibus meis libere et quiete in pura et ppetuam elemosinam sicut predictnm est. Hiis testibus dño Gaufro de Scaunden . dno Petro Gillot tunc constabulario de Cockermouth C. dno Thoma fit Johnis . dño Witlmo de Yreby . dño Rado de Feritate . dño Gaufro de Talantir. dño hugone de Ooriceby. et alijs. Necnon inspexisse tras confirmatorias antecessou nãou de pmissis fact. Sciato nos ob reverencia dei et intuitu caritate omes predictas donacones concessiones et confirmacões ratificasse approbasse et quantu in nobis est confirmasse deo et abbati monasterii beate marie iuxta Ebo4 et ecclie

Bega, in Copeland, and the monks serving God there, for the health of his soul and of the souls of all his ancestors, all the donations which that house had of his ancestors in his fee of Allerdale, in Copeland, namely, 14 salmon which they had by the gift of Alan, son of Waldef; and of the same gift half a carucate of land in the ville of Aspatrich, and 6 acres in the same place, as contained in the charter of the same Alan; also the same William de Fortibus gave them six salmon and one manse in the town of Cockermouth, namely, that manse which was formerly holden by Huctred, of Derham; also an annual rent of 20s. out

sancte Bege de Coupland et monachis ibm deo seruientibus imppetuū. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Dato infra dem monasterium undecimo die mensis Septembris anno regni Rego Edwardi quarti post conquestum Anglie terciodecimo.

19. LAY GRANTS.—SATHERTUN.—Omnibz xpi fidelibz hoc scriptum visur vt auditur Witts de Holegyle salutm in dno sempit nam noueritis me dedisse ocessisse & hoc Bsenti scripto meo ofirmasse & omnino quiet clamasse Johi Corbet totam tram meam de sathertun cum toto jure meo quod tempe ofectionis Bsentis scipti ad me & hedes meos ibidem ptinuit . * quod in posterum ! potuit ptinere . Tenend * habnd dco John et hedibz suis & suis assignatis de fribz hospitat Sci Johns libe quiete integre cum omnibz ptinenciis libtatibz. omunis & aysiamentis! ad dcam tram ptinentibz p octo denar' : annuatim pdcis fribus ad festum sci Bartholomei psoluendis p omnibz aliis seruiciis. exactionibz * demandis . Et Ego Wills * hedes mei totam dictam fram cum ptinentiis dicto Johi & hedibz suis & suis assignatis ! ot' omnes homines & feminas put pscri'ptum est : Warantizabimus inppetuum. In cui? rei testimonium ! sigillum meum Bsenti scripto . p me * hedib; meis apposui. Hiis testibz. dno Johe de Hudelstun. Witho de morthyng. Willo de twaytis. Willo de Waythebutwayth. Robto de Camera. Johe de Laygate . inrico fit Robti . Johe de hale . * Aliis.

20. CLIFTON.— Omnibz Augneta fit Alxi ancipitis quondam vx Mich Roy salutē in dño sempitnam. Novit vnivsitas vra me in pura viduitate mea & legia potestate mea omnino remisisse de me et hedibz meis totum jus & clameū q hui in septē acrs tre cū omnibz ptinenciis in

of the lands of William de Ribbeton. The Earl of Albemarle's deed is without date, but must have been made between 1190, the time of his marriage with Hawise, daughter of William le Gros, and 1194, the time of his death. The inspeximus is dated at St. Bees, September 11, 1473.

^{19.} William of Holegyle quits claim to John Corbet, of all his land in Sathertun, to hold of the brethren of the Hospital of St. John. This John Corbet was probably a descendant of William, brother of Patric, sixth Earl of Dunbar, which William married Constantia Corbet, heiress of Walter de Corbet, of Makerston, in Scotland, and had issue who took the name of Corbet.

^{20.} The seal of this deed is destroyed; but the label upon which it has been put has part of the first line of a deed, in which are these words:—Agnes cond^am vxor

villa de Clifpton' quas pdcs Mich roy quodam marit' meus & Ego Augñ habuim' in Clifpton' Walto scit fit With Anglici & hedibus uel suis assignatis Tenend faciendo forinsecu suicium qd qtinet' in carta qfecta int dcm Mich quondam maritum meum & Adam Pigon de Cokrmue ita scit qd n' ego, &c. . In cui', &c. . Hiis testibus Ric. Geddeney tuc senescallo de Cokmue . dno Thom de Derewenteswatre . dno Thom de lucy militibz . Robto de Bramth . Johe de Oene . Thom de Eglisfeld . Ric del pur Ben de Clifpton' . Gitt de Hustwayt . Willo de Oene . Johe de P'dishaw & aliis. (s. d.—Abstract.)

21. Anno Incarnacōis dñi. M°. C°C°. octogessimo scdo. ad festū sci (Partini In hýeme facta est hec quencio îter Benedictū fit Thṁ de Clifton ex una pte & Waltm le harpur ex altera videlicz qd pdcs Benedictus p se et hedibz suis dimisit & quessit pdco Walto & hedibz suis ut suis assignatis molendinū fullonū de Clifton & domū et toftū px° adiacentē & vnā dimidiam ac m tre î milneholm vlt aq m de meran Jacentē. Tenend & hñd s¹ & hedibz suis ut suis assignatis vsq. ad tminū viginti anno px° subsequenciū p q dam summa pecunie q m Idem Walts dedit pmanibz pdco Bñdicto. Libe. q¹ete. intege. & pacifice. cū omībz ptinenciis comoditatibz Libertatibz. & aysiamentis ad pdcm molendinū domū toftū & tram spectantibz nichil inde reddendo ut faciendo. Et sciendū est qd pdcs Bñdictus ut hedes sui ut sui assignati dabunt ī fine tmini pdco Walto & hedibz suis ut suis assignatis p sumptibz suis ibidem factis vnā marcā argenti. Et si illud facere recusant !

Thome Marschall de Cokermouth salutem, &c. The deed itself is a release from Agnes, the daughter of Alexander two-faced, widow of Michael Roy, to Walter, son of William English, of all right which she and her husband had in 7 acres of land in Clifton, to hold by doing the foreign service mentioned in a charter made between the same Michael and Adam Pigon, of Cockermouth. Clifton is in the parish of Workington, and the Eglesfield, and after them, the Berdsey family were formerly the principal proprietors in it.

^{21.} On the feast of St. Martin in winter, 1282, this agreement was made between Benedict, the son of Thomas, of Clifton, and Walter the harper: the said Benedict demised to the said Walter the Fulling Mill of Clifton, and the house and toft adjoining, and half an acre of land in Millholm, lying on the other side of the Water of Mere, for 20 years, for a

[•] The following is added in another hand at the bottom of the deed: quay Racr jacet in milne hilm alia dimid acr jacet sup Cliftanebank.

pdcs Walts ut nedes sui ut sui assignati dabunt pdco Bndicto & nedibz ut assignatis suis vnā marcā argenti. Et erūt feofati ippetuū de dco molendino domo. tofto & tra. Et ego vero Benedictus & nedes mei & nrī assignati pdcm molendinū domū toftū et trā pdco Walto & nedibz suis ut suis assignatis ρ^* omes hoies & feminas cū omib; suis ptinentiis vsq; ad pdcm tminū completū sicut pdcm est warantizabim? adqietabim? & ī omib; defendem?. Et in testimon huj? qvencois alter alteri huic scipto cyrograffato īter nos ofecto sigillū suū apposuit. Hiis testib; Thm de Weston tūc batto de Cokmue. Thm. de Egelfeld. Ric del fyche. Thm. fil. gregor. Henr fre ei?. Witho uenator. Thm. capetto de Wirkington & multis aliis.

22. Pateat vniùsis p psentes qd ego Mariota soror & heres Willmi fit Tho. de Crosthwayte imppetuū quietū clamaui Benedčo de Eglesfeld & hedibz & assigū suis totū jus & clameū que habui in vna dimidia acī tre apd Stodfaldrunes cū suis ptiñ in alta Clifton. Ita videlt, &c.. Pretea concessi eidm Benedčo hedibz & assignat suis qd oms tre & tenemēta cū suis ptiū que cristiana que fuit vx° Stephi de clifton tenet ad totam vitam suam ex dimissione pdči Willi fris mei & que post mortē ipius cristiane m¹ & hedibz meis redti deberent post mortē ipius cristiane remaneant pdčo Benedčo & hedibz suis & suis assigū imppetuū. Et ego vero dča Oariota & hedes mei pdčs tras Warantizabim? imppetuū. In cui? rei, &c.. Hiis testibz dūo Robto de Leyburn tunc custode castri & honoris de Cokirm. duo Robto de Bampton. Johe de Eglisfield. Johne de Stanlaw. Thom de pardshou. Thom de Bramithwayt. & aliis. Dat' apud Cokirmouth vicessimo quarto die Septembr Anno rr. Edward duodecimo. 1284.—(Abstract.)

sum of money given before-hand to the said Benedict, but without the payment of rent or service; and that the said Benedict, at the end of the term, should give to the said Walter for his expences one mark; and, if he refused to do so, the said Walter should give to him the same sum, and be infeoffed in the mill, house, toft, and land, for ever.

^{22.} By this deed, which is dated at Cockermouth, 24th September, 1284, Mariota, sister and heir of William, son of Thomas, of Crosthwayte, released to Benedict de Eglesfield all claim in half an acre of land in Stodfaldrunes, in High Clifton; and also granted to the same Benedict, that all the lands and tenements which Christian, widow of Stephen, of Clifton, then held for her life by the demise of her said brother William, and which, after the said Christian's death, should revert to her the said Mariota and her heirs, should after the death of the said Christian remain to him, the said Benedict for ever.

23. Sciant omes tam Beentes q'm futuri quod ego Johanna filia et heres Galfridi le Harpur dedi concessi & hac Bsenti carta mea confirmaui Thome de Weston¹ ctico * Christiane vxori ejus * heredibus dci Thome illas sex bouatas terre & septem acras quas Bdcs Galfridus qondam pater meus habuit ex dono Jsabelle de Fortibus comitisse Albemarlie æ illas novē ac•s tre æ dimidiam q•s βdcs Galfridus pater meus habuit ex dono Ade filii Oichelis qondam dñi de Clifton cu omibz suis ptinenciis exchaetis libertatibus & liberis consuetudiniba sicut Bdcs Galfridus melius vt liberius aliquo tepore tenuit . Habendas ≆ tenandas βdtis Thome ≈ Cristiane vxori eius ≈ heredibus dci Thome vt assignatis de capitalibus dñis illius Feodi. Libere. q'ete. pacifice. integre & hereditarie cum omibus exchaetis aysiamentis . in pratis . pascuis planis pasturis boscis moris . viis . semitis . aquis . stagnis . molendinis . wardis . releuiis & omibz aliis ad Bdcam tram ptinentibus sine aliquo retenemeto p Suicia inde debita & consueta. Et ego uero pdca Johanna & heredes mei omia βdca tenemeta sicut βdcm est βdcis Thome & Cristiane et heredibus dči Thome vi assignatis cū omib; ptinenciis libertatibus * aysiametis ad villa de Clifton ptinent o' omnes gentes in ppetuu Warantizabimus & defendemus. Et ut hec mea donaco cocessio & carte mee confirmaco robur firmitatis optineat. huic Bsenti sc'pto sigillu meu apposui. Hiis testebus. Witto de Qarham tūc constabulario de Cockermue. Oago Robto de Bramthwayt. Ad. de Oorisseby. Willo vllelayk. Alano de Camberton. Thom de Ryweton. Thom de Ireby. Alano de Ireby. John de Pardishaw. Witho le Venur. Walto le Harpur. Benedco de Clifton. Robto de Derham. Johe de lamplow. Rico Bere. Johne Heyr. Witto de Dene. Alano le vsser. æ aliis . Dat~ apd Nouū Castrū sup Tynam . dje Lune post festū scon Tyburicij & Waleriani . anno regni regis Edwardi tercio decimo .

^{23.} Joan, the daughter and heir of Galfrid the harper, here grants to Thomas de Weston, clerk, and Christian, his wife, the heirs of the said Thomas, six bovates and 7 acres of land, which her said father had by the gift of Isabella, the second wife of William de Fortibus, third earl of Albemarle, and also 9\frac{1}{2} acres, which he, her said father, had given to him, by Adam, son of Michael, formerly lord of Clifton, to hold of the chief lord of the fee, with numerous detailed privileges in the original. This deed is dated at Newcastle

Psent duo Henr Scoto tuc majore Noui Cast. Thom Burninghill. Petro Wodeman. Jacobo Tanator. Witto auford. Witto de Hakay & Robto de layhay capetto & alijs.

24. Berdesayhe.—Sciant Beentes & fut'i quod ego Wills de Berdesavhe dedi concessi & hac Beenti carta mea confimaui Witto fit meo quamdam ptem tre mee in tritorio de Berdesayhe. scilicet totam tram que jacet ad Le Wra . * ad . le Gileends q'm Gilbto fr meus pius tenuit de me in eade villa & toftum & croftum que Walts Hylestunte p'us de me tenuit in eadem villa . * totam tram q'm Stephs p'us de me tenuit in eade villa cum quodam tofto & cofto & Insup unam acom tre sup Righeberch & licet ei Bdcs tras assartare & alia quecuq, s' viderit expedire sup Bdictas tras face. Tenendas & habendas ipi Witto & heredibz suis vel cui assignare voluit de me & heredibz meis. In feudo & hereditate libe * q'ete pacifice * integ'. cū omnib; ptinētijs * libtatib; * aysiamentis tante tre ptinentib; inf villam de Berdesaye ext. Reddedo inde annuatī michi & heredibz meis duos denarios ad Pascha floridum p omibz suiciis & secularibz demandis m' & heredibz meis ptinetibz. Faciend forinsecu fuiciu. Intum ptinent ad tantam fram in Bdca villa. Ego vero Witts de Berd & heredes mei omnes Bdcs imppetuu Warantizabim9. * in huj? rei Testim huic scipto sigillū meū apposui. Hijs testibz. dño Willo de Furnesio. dño Ric de Caupland. dño Marmeuduch Daret. Witto de Furs. Witto de Hasmunderlavhe. Witto de Schelmereserch. Robto fit Laysig. & aliis.—(s. d.)

25. WARNNEL, IN INGLEWOOD FOREST.—Edwardus dei gra rex Anglie

upon Tyne, on the Monday after the feast of Saints Tyburicius and Walerian, August 11, I suppose, 13th Edw. I., 1285.

^{24.} William de Berdesayhe by this charter granted to his son William a certain part of his territory of Berdesayhe, namely, that which laid at the Wra and at the Gillends, which his brother Gilbert formerly held of him in that village; and the toft and croft which Walter Hylestunte, and the land which Stephen formerly held of him there, with a certain toft and croft; and, besides these, an acre of land upon Righeberch, with licence to assart or rid the above-named lands; to hold to the said William, the son, his heirs and assigns, in fee and inheritance, and by paying to the donor and his heirs 2d. at flowery Easter.

^{25.} A grant by Edward the First, dated at Woodstock, 17th July, 1276, by which he granted to John de Halteclo a certain waste place in Warnhill, in his forest of Inglewood,

dns Hibnie & Dux Aquit . Omibz ad quos psentes litte puenint! Sattm . Sciatis qd de gratia n\u00eda speciali dedimus \u00e0 concessimus ditco nobis Johi de Halteclo vnam placeam vasti cum ptinentiis in Warnhull in foresta nra de Ingelwode int parcum de Caldebek & Ruddestangill ppe aquam de Caldewe* continentem in se sexaginta acras p pticam de foresta. Hend & tenend eidem Johi et hedibz suis de nobis & hedibz ñris cum libo introitu € exitu ad omnimoda adia sua eunda a pximis viis regiis vsq. ad pdca clausum & placeam. Reddendo inde nobis & hediba nrs pannū ad scem nrm sexaginta solidos videlt p qualibet acra duodecim denarios vnam videli medietatem ad scem nim sci Oichis & aliam medietatem ad scc^{*}m n^{*}m Pasche p omi exaccione suicio * demanda. Ita qui idem Johes Bdictam placeam assartare & in culturam redigere & eam paruo fossato * bassa haia scdm assisam foreste includere * eam sic assartatum & in culturam redactam ac inclusam tenere possit sibi & hedibz suis cum libo introitu & exitu ad omnimoda adia sua eunda a pximis viis regiis vsq. ad clausum a placeam Bdca de nobis a hediba nris imppetuū sine occone vel impedimento nri vel hedum nroz justiciarioz forestariou viridariou aut aliou balliuou seu ministrou nrou quou cumq. In cuius rei testimoniū has tras nras fieri fecimus patentes . Teste me ipo apud Wodestock decimo septimo die Julij . anno regni nri quarto . p bre de p'uato sigillo ! Duppt !

26. Wigton.—Hoc sciptū Cyrogiffatū testatur qd duodecimo die Oartij anno regni regis Edwardi qinto ita couenit inter Johm de Wygeton ex vna pte & Bendom de Papecastr ex alta. videlcz. qd pdous

between the park of Caldebeck and Ruddestangill, near the river Caldewe,* containing by the pole of the forest, 60 acres; to hold of the king, to him and his heirs, by paying 60s. annually into the Exchequer; and that the said John might rid the place and put it into cultivation, and inclose it with a small ditch and low hedge, according to assise of the forest. For Inglewood being a Royal forest, see Statute 4, Hen. 7, Chap. 6.

^{26.} This is a mortgage dated 12th March, 1277, and made by John de Wigton to Benedict de Papecaster, of 4 acres of ground in a place called the Priest-ridding, within the township of Wigton, for 20s. sterling, with conditions for redemption within a given time.

^{*} That is Cold-water, ewe being the same as the present east in French. So, also Kald-aa, is the name of a river near Havinford, in Iceland, and means Cold-river. It is there pronounced Kald-ow, the Icelandic aa being pronounced like the English ow in house.—(Mackinsie's Iceland, p. 108.).

Johnes impignorauit Bdco Benedco quatuor acrs tre cu oībz suis ptnt' que iacent in quodam loco vocatur le Prestriddynge in villa de Wygeton p viginti solidis Silingon quos ab eodm mutuo recepit sub hac forma . videlicz . qd si Bdcus Johnes non soldit n° satisfecit Bdco Benedčo vi hrediba suis de Bdčis viginti solidis in fo sči michis pxo segni post datam istius scipti : pdcus Johnes concedit p se * hedibz suis : qđ Bdce quatuor acre tre cū suis ptin' remaneant dco Benedco € hed suis imppelm put in carta feofamenti que t'ditur in custodia Gilbi Braciatoris ex utoq; assensu tanqom in eqoli manu custodiend vsq. fm sci Oichis Archanget sup'dcm plenis in se continet. Et pdcus Bends concedit p se & hred suis qd si βdcus Johnes vi hed sui soldint & satisfecint dco Bendco de Bacis viginti solidis in fo sci Michis arkanget sup dco : qa tūc phốc q tuor acr tr cū suis ptin. phốc Johni & hed suis reutant & remaneant in ppetuū sine aliq cot dcone bdci Bendci vi hred suon et qd carta feofamenti Bdči extunc p nullo heatur in quoqcumq, manibz deuenit. Et odcus Johanes concedit p se & medibz suis qd acquietet Pdcm Bendcm et hredes suos de quadam annua firma quatuor solidoq capitali dno feodi illius p pdca fra annustī debita. In cui? rei testim psenti scipto admodū cyrog ffatim confecto tam dcus Johs q m pdcus Beneds alinatim sigilla sua apposuerūt. Dat. apud Rounthwayt die * anno sup*dcis.

27. Sciant omnes tam psentes q m futuri q ego Johannes de Wygetoñ miles filius q ndam dñi Walti de Wygetoñ dedi Ricardo Skot tres acras terre cu ptinetiis que iacent in feodo meo de Wygetoñ in loco qui vocat le Colemyre iuxta terram q m Withs sutor waltus Lentyn tenent in eodem loco quay unu caput se extendit vers Docwrarig valuid cap se extendit vsq. Aynolfbergh Tenend eidem Ricardo hered suis suis assignatis. Reddendo inde annuat michi heredib meis viginti denarios argenti. Hiis testib dñs Oichele De Hartecla tunc vic Cumbert. Thom de Neuton. Rico de Kirkebryd militib Robto de

^{27.} John de Wigton, knight, son of the late Walter de Wigton, gave to Richard Skot 3 acres of land in his fee of Wigton, in a place called Colemyre, near the land which William the shoemaker and Walter Lintyn held in the same place, of which land, one head extended

Warthewyt . Rico de Boyuill . Robto de Joneby . Alano De Ireby . Johanne de Crokyday . Johanne de Berwys . Robto de Kircoswald chico . Et aliis.—(Abstract.)

28. Thornton, in Yorkshire.—Omniby Robt? fit Rogi ciici de Thornton Sattm in Dño! Nouitis me remisisse relaxasse & omnibo de me thed meis inppetuu quetu clamasse Ric fit Ade Bernard de Welburn totu ius & clamiu qd vnq'm hui in vno tofto & croft' et vna bouai îre cu ptin in villa & territorio de Thornton iuxta foston que idm Ric clamat vt ius suu post decessu Alic Gower nepotis sue. Hiis testiby Dñis Thorn de Boulton. Johe Morin. Auketino Salvayn. Oilitiby. Witto Gowere. Johe de lillyng. Johe de Foston. Rogo de Scrinsale. Nicho de Claxton. Witto Louell. Nicho fit ei?. Rogo fabro. Walto Playce de eadm. Witto fit Gilberti de Lilling. Et alijs. Dat apud Thornton die venis pia post festu Sci. Nichi epi anno regni Regis Edwardi cij p? conquestu septimo.—(Abstract.)

29. Sciant psentes & futuri que ego Johes fit Willi Jacobe de Thornton dedi Rico Bernard de Welburn totu pratu meu iacente in le Noethker in le langdailes in titio de Thornton iuxta fosseton Tenend, &c. In cui?, &c., hijs testibz Robo de Thornton. Johe a fosseton. Rogo de Scrinsale. Nicolao de Claxton. Rogo le smythe de Thornton. Thom

towards Docwrayrig,* and, another, to Aynolf bergh, to hold to the said Richard, by the payment of 20 silver pennies annually. Michael de Harda, the first witness to this deed, was for 12 successive years, from 14 to 26, Edw. I., sheriff of Cumberland; and father of the famous, but, unfortunate, Andrew de Harcla, Earl of Carlisle.

^{28.} This charter, which is dated at Thornton on Friday next, after the feast of St. Michael the bishop, in 1333, is a release from Roger, son of Roger, clerk of Thornton, to Richard, son of Adam Bernard, of Welburn, of all the right he had in one toft and croft, and one bovate of land in the ville and territory of Thornton, near Foston, which the said Richard claimed as his right after the death of his neice, Alice Gower.

^{29.} By this deed, which is dated on Monday, next after the feast of St Michael the Archangel, 1936, John, son of William James, of Thornton, gave to Bernard Welburne all

^{*} I think that Dock-wray means Water-row. It is the name of a street in Penrith, of one in Keadai, and of a hamlet in Matterdale, in Cumberland. Duck and Dock have generally in their meaning a reference to water; and wray is the same as the French rue, a street, and row in English; Duck is from de auc of the water. Hence duck, a water bird, to duck, to bathe or dip or plunge in water. Nurses in the north of England call a drink, a ducky. A dock is a place to hold water in. The plants of the Dock tribe have their name from delighting in moist soils, or growing by river sides. Docker, too, is the name of a beck that falls into the Lune on Lune Sanda.—(Harrison's Desc. of Eng. p. 86.)

Jacobe € alijs : Dat apd Welburn iuxta Bulm die lune px post ftu sci Oichis arcangeli anno Regni Regis Edwardi tcij post oquestu decimo. —(Abstract.)

- 30. Pateat vniusis p psentes me Johem de Kirkeby-Ireleth chiuair ordinasse & fecisse dilëm michi in xpo Wiffm de Berdesey fidelem attornatu meu ad delibandu seisynam p me & in noie meo Thome de Kirkeby frat' meo & Thome de Berdesey & Henë de Waynscharth vicaë Ecclie de Kirkeby in manerio meo de Emelton cu omibz ptinent suis except quibusda terë & tënës vocat Schaton & Stangere prout in quada carta pfatis Thome Thome & Henëp pfat Johem inde facta pleniu continet ratu g'tum hituë quicquid idm Wiffs noie meo fecit in pmissis. In cui rei testiom huic scipto sigillu meu apposui. Hijs testibz. Johe de Bamton. Johe de Eglesfeld. Johe del hames. Johe de Cambton. Johe Bouth aliis. Dat apud Kirkeby in Fourneys die Jovis px an festu pentecost Anno Regni Regis. Edwardi trij a conq Angt q'dragessimo Scdo.
- 31. Pateat vnivsis p psentes qd ego Johes de Kirkebý-Irelith chiuatr dedi concessi & hac psenti carta mea confirmaui Thome de Kirkebý frat' meo Thome de Berdeseý & Henr del Waynskarth vicar Ecctie de Kirkebý maneriū meū de Emelton cū ptinent suis & ad pdcm maner spectant except quibusdam tris & tentis in pdco manio que vocat Schaton. Et ego, &c. In cui?, &c. Hijs testibz Johe de Bamton. Johe de Eglesfeld. Johe del hames. Johe de Cambton. Johe Bouthe & alijs. Dat apud Kirkebý in Fourneys die Jovis px° añ festū Pentecost Anno regni Regis Edwardi tcij. a conq. Angt q dragesimo scdo.
 - 32. Thorp Arches.—Sciant oms tam psentes q'm fut'i qu ego Rob

his meadow lying in the Noethker, in the Langdales, in the township of Thornton, near Foston, in the parish of Bulmer, Yorkshire.

^{30.} Sir John de Kirkeby-Ireleth, knight, here ordains William de Berdesey, his attorney, to give seizin for him, and in his name, to his brother Thomas de Kirkby, Thomas de Berdesey, and Henry of the Waynscharth, vicar of Kirkeby, in his manor of Emelton, with its appurtenances, except in certain lands and tenements called Schaton and Strangere, as was expressed in a deed made to them by the said Sir John. Dated at Kirkeby in Furness, in Lancashire, on the Thursday, next after the feast of Pentecost, in 1369.

^{31.} This is the deed referred to in the preceding power of attorney, and of the same date.

^{32.} Robert Dune of Thorp de Arches, near York, grants to Helen, daughter of his son Ralph, three acres of land in the territory of Thorp, namely, half an acre at Langerane,

dune de Thorp de Arches dedi helene filie Radulfi filij mei tres acras tre in tritorio de thorp. s. dimidia acram ad langerane jacentē int tram luce filij laurencij & int tra hugōis de pstegate. Itē. j. rodā sup engebang int tras pdcop. itē. j. rodā ad bamwath int terrā luce & trā Thom filii martini Itē. j. rodā ad dune-keldes int trā luce & trā hugōis filii ade. Itē. j. rodām ad houthes int trā luce & trā Johis fris ei? . Itē. j. rodā in skoecroft int trā luce & trā Thom filii martini. Itē brembelirode jx ecchiam int tram luce & trā Thom filii martini. Itē. tres rodas ad langelandes int tras luce & hugō de pstegate & T. filij martini. Itē. j. rodā sup stocches int tram luce & Johis fris ei? & terciā partem tofti mei in villa de Thorp. s. ppinquiorem ptem domui alani fit Jacobi. cū ptinentijs pdce tre ptinentibz. Hiis tetibz dño Rob vicario de bdesay Alano stel de Thorp. Thom fit Johis. Alano fit Jacobi. Thoma filio martini. & aliis mitis.—(Abstract.)

33. TINMOUTH.—Sciant \(\beta\)sentes \(\varphi\) fut'i q ego Nicholaus fili? Radulfi dedi \(\varphi\) concessi \(\varphi\) hac \(\beta\)senti carta mea c\(\overline{0}\) maui Witto H\(\varphi\)ndele\(\varphi\) unam dimidiam acram \(\text{Tre}\) in campo de T\(\varphi\)ne\(\wideti\) que jacet inter \(\text{Tram}\) \(\partit{D}\) dicti Witti \(\varphi\) tram Witti Cuherd ex parte boriali crucis de Seton \(\text{H}\)nd\(\varphi\) Tenend \(\beta\)d\(\overline{0}\) Witto \(\varphi\) heredib\(\varphi\) suis vt suis assignatis de me \(\varphi\) hedib\(\varphi\) meis vt meis assignatis libere q'ete \(\wideti\) \(\varphi\) in pace \(\varphi\) libertatib\(\varphi\) ais\(\varphi\) annetis ad

lying between the ground of Luke, son of Lawrence, and of Hugh of Prestegate; also one rood upon Engebang, between lands of the aforesaid; also one rood on Bramwath, between the land of Luke, and of Thomas, son of Martin; also one rood at Houthes, between land of Luke, and of Hugh, son of Adam; also one rood at Houthes, between land of Luke, and of his brother John; also one rood in Skoecroft, between land of Luke, and of Thomas, son of Martin; also Brembeli-rood, near the church, between the land of Luke, and of Thomas, son of Martin; also 3 roods at Langelandes, between the lands of Luke and Hugh of Prestegate, and Thomas, son of Martin; also one rood upon Stocches, between the land of Luke, and John his brother; and a third part of his toft in the ville of Thorp, namely, the part nearest to the house of Alan, son of James.—(No Date.)

33. This is a grant from Nicholas, the son of Ralph, to William Hindley, of half an acre of ground, in a field of Tinmouth, which lay between the ground of the said William, and that of one William Cuherd, and on the north side of the Cross of Seaton. From the handwriting of the original, which is bold and fine, the charter seems to belong to the beginning of the thirteenth century. "The Cross of Seton" was probably the obelisk called the Monks Stone, and of which Grose gave a drawing; and an apocryphal traditional account of its being set up by one of the Delaval family, who killed a monk of Tinmoth, there, for

pdcam fram ptinentibz. Reddendo inde annuatī m' pdco Nicholao *
heredibz meis vt meis assignatis ipe * hedes sui ut assignati vnū obolū
ad festū sci Martini in yeme pro omni suicio seculari exaccõe consuetudīe * demanda. Et ego pdcs Nicholaus * hedes mei ut assignati pdco
Witto * hedibz suis vt assignatis pdcam fram contra omes hoies * feminas warantizabim? aq etab; * defendem? inppetuū. In cui? rei testimoniū psenti scipto sigillū meū apposui. Hiis testibus. Thom de
Fischeburn tūc senescallo. Ada de Pykering. Nichot de Bacwrht.
Nichot de la Haỳ. Johann Aurifab. Johann fit Suayn * multis
aliis.—(s, d.)

cutting off and carrying away a pig's head from the spit at Seaton Deleval. The inscription on the base of the cross, "O Horror to kill a man for a pigges head," is of very modern date. The cross, I have no doubt, was set up like the cippi or shafts of the Romans, as a boundary, between the lands of Tinmouth and Monkseaton, or else as an index or guide to travellers; for it stood where the way from Morpeth through Earsdon, branched off one way to Tinmouth, and the other to Preston and North Shields. In 1320, one Henry Faukes, of West Backworth, granted to the prior and convent of Tinmouth, wayleave through his grounds for leading slate from their quarries in West Backworth, to cover their houses with; and released to them all right he had in a certain part of the moor called Rode Stone Moor, on the west side of Preston, containing 60 acres, and extending in length from the way which led to Billing Mill, and thence to Murton, and the culture called the "Blake Chesters," in the field of East Chirton, and thence to the north street which led from Tinmouth to the Rodstone Gallows. The Roodstones were crosses. In the reference to a plan of the manor of Tinmouth made in 1757, and remaining at Northumberland house in Brand's time, the field in which the Monk-stone stood, is called the "Cross Close Pasture."—(See Brand's Newcastle, ii. 90 and 91.)

LIII.—An Account of an ancient Ruined Chapel, at East Shaftoe, in the Parish of Hartburn, and County of Northumberland, by the Rev. John Hodgson, Secretary, communicated to the Society in a Letter to John Adamson, Esq., Secretary.

DEAR SIR.

Tradition had immemorially pointed out a plot of ground on the south side of Shaftoe-crags as the site of the Chapel-yard, and Chapel of East Shaftoe; but no record or other evidence, till within the last two years, had been brought forward to prove that such an institution had ever actually existed there.

The place, pointed out as the Chapel-yard, is in the form of an oblong square, and consists of about an acre of dry sandy ground which rests on rock of the kind called Millstone Grit. It has been fenced-in with a deep ditch, and an earthen wall. A large and solitary ash-tree is growing within the north side of its area, and is still called the Chapel Tree. Its situation is a few furlongs from the west end of the ancient village of East Shaftoe; and where the Shaftoe-crags begin to run in a hoary and and lichen-covered precipice towards the west. The road from East Shaftoe, by Shaftoe-grange to Deneham runs on its north side; and, like similar institutions in many other places, it has formed the western extremity of the village to which it was an appurtenance. Of the extent of the village little more can now be guessed at, than from its ruins still forming two long lines of foundations of houses, with a space for a broad street or town-green between them. These lines may still be traced running westward, for 200 yards or more, behind the old Mansion-house of the Shaftoes and Vaughans, through a thick grove of trees towards the chapel.

The middle part of the area of the Chapel-yard is covered with foundations of buildings lying in lines, some of which form such sharp and accurate right angles to each other, that it required no fanciful imagination to trace among the turf-covered remains the site of the chancel, nave, porch, and of a southern transept, as well as of other parts of the edifice or appendages to it, the use of which, could not, perhaps, be well ascertained without clearing away the earth and rubbish within them; and, even then, conjecture might have had to employ its versatile and theorizing powers to tell us for what purpose they had been intended. The appearances above ground, however, corroborated the tradition respecting them, and strengthened the probability that at some remote period the chapel at least had been consecrated and set apart for holy uses; but proof was still wanting to convert the probability into fact, till last year, when a document, sent to me from the Tower of London, by Henry Petre, Esq., the learned and liberal Keeper of the Records there, fully effected that conversion.

In 1378, an inquest was holden before William Ergun, the King's escheator for Northumberland, to enquire before a jury, respecting several benefactions to chapels, chantries, and hospitals, the revenues of which had been diverted from the uses for which they were given; and among other things which this enquiry brought to light, it showed that the ancestors of John de Shaftowe founded a chantry in the chapel of Shaftowe, and endowed it with five score acres of arable and meadow ground, to find a chaplain to celebrate divine services there for the souls of the king and his ancestors, and of the ancestors of the Shaftowes, which chantry had for a long time been withdrawn; but the jurors further said, that the Vicar of Hartburn took the profit of the said lands to his own immediate use, to the damage of the King and the founders, and that the land and meadow were worth 30s. a-year.* One can hardly hope to meet with the record of this endowment, or with any very definite information about it; but in the following very meagre and

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[•] Inquisitio capta apud Corbrigg coram Willielmo de Ergun escaetore regis in comitatu Northumbi xx die Jun, anno regni Edwardi tertij per sacramentum Roberti de Louthre v aliorum juratorum . Qui dicunt quod antecessores Johannis de Shaftowe fundaverunt cantariam in Capella de Shaftowe, Зк

dateless pedigree, kindly copied for me, with various other documents, by W. C. Trevelyan, of Wallington, Esq., from a MS. in the library of Miss Currer, at Eshton Hall, in Craven, generation vi points out, Thomas Shaftoe as one of his family, who alienated a part of his possessions to religious uses. And Thomas de Schaftowe is certainly a person who very frequently occurs as a witness to deeds in and about the year 1349.

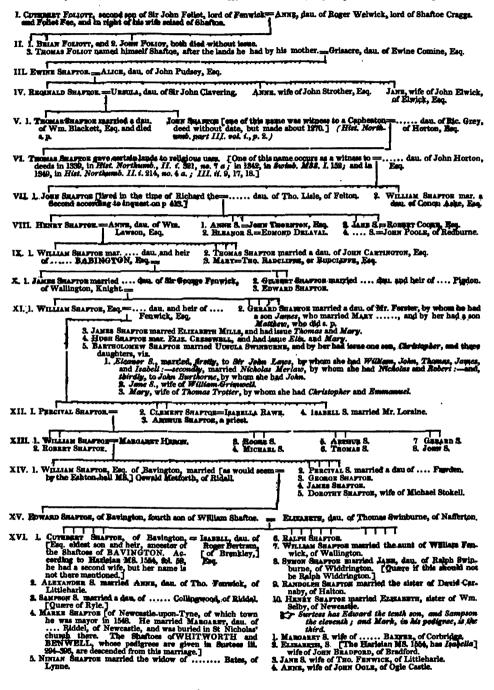
The family of Foliot were barons by tenure, in Northamptonshire, in the time of Henry the Second,* and branches of it continued to flourish in different parts of England, in the time of Henry the Third; but I have no where seen them mentioned as proprietors of lands in Northumberland, nor any notice of such a property as the Fenwick and Foliott fee. Roger Folioth is witness to a deed printed above, at p. 395, but from the situation in which he there stands, he seems to have been a Cumberland man. It is, indeed, difficult to give credit to the early part of this pedigree; and not to suspect that a few of the first generations of it (as of many other pedigrees which pretend to commence near the time of the Norman conquest, but are unaccompanied with dates or authentic evidence) are not as much indebted for their existence in writing to the flattery of our early hearlds, as many of the British kings of England and Scotland are to our old Monkish historians. Families, like nations, have often the source of their origin emblazoned with the artificial light of fable, beyond the false glare of which all is savage and dark. There can, however, be no reason for doubting the authenticity of this pedigree from the fifth or sixth generations; and evidence may still arise to carry it higher, but in another form.

ad quam cantariam dederunt v-xx. acras terre v prati ad inveniendum capellanum divina ibidem celebraturum imperpetuum pro animabus regis v antecessorum suorum v antecessorum de les Shaftowes, que quidem cantaria subtrahitur per longa tempora : dicunt etiam quod vicarius de Hertbourn capit proficuum terrarum predictarum ad usum proprium ad dampnum regis v fundatorum cantariae : terra v pratum valent p ann. xxx s. &c. &c.—(Ex. Orig. in Tur. Lond.)

^{*} Liber Niger, 213; Banks i., 85.

PEDIGREE OF SHAFTOE, OF SHAFTOE CRAGG.

[Where additions have been made to the copy, as at Eshton-hall, they are printed within brackets.]



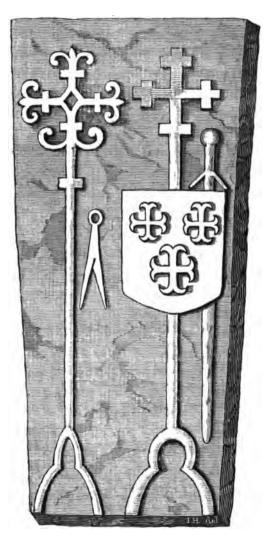
But that a chapel existed at East Shaftoe in former times, proofs of a higher species of evidence than either tradition or records have lately been discovered. On May 17, 1831, Lady Decies employed a party of workmen to dig among its ruins, with the hope of finding on its floor some monumental device or inscription; or in the earth below the floor some evidence of the interment of human bodies. I was present when they commenced their labours. At first they were directed to make a cast 6 feet broad, from south to north, in front of the line in which it was supposed the rails before the altar might have run. At about 4 feet deep, and in the middle of the trench, a course of thick flag-stones with holes in them for fixing the posts of a wicket in, evidently marked the spot along which the rails had run; and within it, at the north-east corner of the building, and at about 3 feet from the surface, and about 10 inches above the flagging for the altar rails, the workmen came to a sandstone slab 6 feet 3 inches long, 3 feet broad at the head, 2 feet 5 inches at the foot, 6 inches thick, and bearing devices as represented in the wood-cut in the next page.

These, I apprehend, are the funereal symbols of a warrior and his wife—the shears and left hand cross being emblematic of the lady; and the sword, shield, and other cross, of the gentleman; but the bearing on the shield—three crosses moline, are no where given, as far as I have seen, to any branch of either the Foliot or Shaftoe family.

This stone was regularly embedded in lime and lying square with the walls, and did not seem to have been moved since it was first laid down. Perhaps it was a memorial stone of the founders of the building. It was, however, carefully raised and replaced in its original position; but though the ground below it was dug through down to the rock, no bone, or other trace of human remains, was found to prove that interments had been made in the chapel, and, consequently, that it had been consecrated as a place of sepulture. A wide trench was also made along the south wail of the chapel, but there, as within the altar rails, no human bones were found; but the openings in the wall for a door and a window remained.

The whole chapel, inside measure, is about 66 feet long. The

south transept about 14 feet square, and the chancel 15 feet long and 4 feet broad. The opening between the nave and chancel had been walled up; and appearances on their floors showed that both of them had been used as dwelling-houses, or as barns or stables. There were strong marks of fire on the middle of the chancel floor.



I think it probable that the transept appended to the south side of the nave was the chantry where the services were done for the 100 acres of land, the proceeds of which had been withdrawn from their intended uses so early as 1378; and that the rest of the chapel was more ancient than the chantry.

Mr. Forster (Lord Decies' agent, to whom the estate of East Shaftoe now belongs) told me that the shafts of mines near the size of the chapel-yard, were those of a colliery, which was worked not many years since; and that a large stone basin, believed to have been the bowl of a font, formerly lay in or near the Chapel-yard; but that after the colliery ceased to be worked, this bowl was thrown down one of the shafts by some idle people. The coals of this colliery were of the splint or kennel kind, and of very fine quality, but the seam thin.

I am, dear Sir, your's truly,

JOHN HODGSON.

Newbigging-by-the-Sea, Sept. 7, 1831.

LIV.—Account of two Roman Inscriptions, in a Letter from Mr. C. Hodgson, to John Adamson, Esq., Secretary.



Sir,

THE above is a representation of a Roman Tombstone, found on Sept. 29, 1829, in cutting down Gallow-hill, near this city, for the purpose of improving the great mail-road from Penrith to Carlisle. It was found about four feet below the surface, and with its face downwards. It measures 5 feet 4 inches high, and 2 feet 9 inches broad in its widest part. A rude Corinthian pillar and numerous graves were found at the same place. The inscription, I understand, should be read thus:—

DIIS MANIBVS . AVRELIA AVRELIA VIXSIT ANNOS TRIGINTA VNVM . VLPIVS APOLINARIS CONJVGI CARISSIME POSVIT

Which may be Englished thus: - Sacred to the Gods that wait upon

departed spirits. Aurelia Aurelia lived thirty-one years. Ulpius Apolinaris set up this stone to his most beloved wife.



The stone bearing this inscription was found in the river Eden, about half-a-mile below Beaumont, and two miles from the station on the Roman Wall, at Brugh-upon-Sands. It is twenty-five inches high, nineteen inches broad, and one foot thick. The lettering on the bottom part of it is much defaced; but I give you as correct a copy of it as I can. Some time since I sent a sketch of it to my brother, your fellow secretary, and he told me in a letter that it had been "an

altar erected to Jupiter, the best and greatest of the Gods, by a miliaria equitata cohort of German soldiers, called Vangiones, which was commanded by a Prefect, whose first name was Pius, and the second, per. haps, Secundus. The last line but one seems to have contained his agnomen: and the last, in sigla or notes, the reason for dedicating the altar. The sigla N. R., in the second line, may be synonymous to C. R. in several inscriptions in Gruter and Horsley, and to C. L. in those above at p. 91, and in English may mean—by nation Romans. The cohors miliaria equitata, as has been shown by Mr. Thomas Hodgson, in the Newcastle Antiquarian Society's Transactions, consisted of 760 foot soldiers and 240 cavalry. The Vangiones were a people of Belgic Gaul, on the Rhine, and their capital at Worms. One Tribune of this cohort left a stone to the memory of a most charming daughter, at Walwick Chesters, on the Roman Wall; a second, an altar to Hercules; and a third, a tablet recording some work that had been done by it under his direction, at Risingham, on the river Rede.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

C. HODGSON.

(larlisle, Dec. 18, 1831.

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Estimate of the true Valuation of Vaccination as a sccurity against Small Pox. 8vo. London, 1825.

A Coin of Louis XIV., plated.

Feb. 2. An Account of the Regent's Visit to Oxford, 1814
(not printed for sale). Zacharie Lilii Orbis Breviarum, et Gurlielrin Sooni Vautēsdeni Auditor, sive
Pomponius Mela Disputator, de Situ Orbis, 1572, in
one vol. 8vo. The Cambro-British Magazine, No.
28 to 30. Marmorum Oxoniensium Inscriptiones
Græcæ, 8vo. 1791.

A View of the Old Bridge over the Tyne at New-castle.

An Idol, supposed either from the West Indies, China, or the South Seas, carved in cameo on stone.

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Shelton's Oxonia Antiqua, pl. 28. Ditto of Johan Roy de Castel et de Leon duc de Lancastre.— Vide Stebbing's Geneological History. Ditto of Mortimer, W.C.Trevelyan, Esq. Earl of March, 21 Rich. II. Ditto Sigill. Willelmi Neville Milit. 13 Rich. II. Wallington. An ancient Coffin, found near Featherston Castle, with a Letter relating to the Discovery of it, and several The Right Honourothers similar to it. able Thos. Wallace. Ninety-eight modern Tradesmens' Tokens, 4to. &c. &c., 1794. Rev. W. N. Darnell. Drawing of an Altar, found in the River Eden, made June 1. by Mr. Norman. Mr. Norman. Sir R. K. Porter, Knt. A Fly Chaser used in Persia. Drawing of some ancient Tomb Stones discovered in making alterations in Hexham Church. Mr. James Reed. A Cast of the Catstane, an ancient Pictish Inscription. A. B. Seton, Esq. July 6. A Catalogue lately printed of the Manuscripts in the The Dean and Chapter of Durham. Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham. Sir T. Burdon, Knt. Four Brass Coins. Dec. 7. Klotzi Historia Numorum Contumeliosorum Satyricorum. 12mo. Altenburgi, 1765. W.C. Trevelyan, Esq. Two Impressions from an Engraving of an antient Medal found at Tynemouth Priory. Mr. Clarke, Hexham. 1826. Biographical Notice of the late Mr. John Marshall, of January 4, Newcastle, Author of the Village Pedagogue, &c. Only 50 copies printed. 12mo. 1825, Newcastle. Biographical Notice of the late John Gibson, of Sandoe, Author of Reflections on the Cataract of the Rivers Tees, called the High Force, &c. 12mo. 1825, Newcastle. Only 40 copies printed. Stanzas on the Intended Line of Road from Potticar Lane to Leyburn Hole, with an Account of the Memorable Events which have occurred on Gateshead Fell, and additional Notes by the Publisher; Newcastle, 8vo. large paper, only 20 copies printed. Printed for and published by John Sykes, Bookseller, Johnson's Mr. Sykes, Newcas-Head, Newcastle, 1825. tle. A Copy of Kempis's "Imitation of Jesus Christ," in the Language of Brittany; 12mo. 1743. Some cu-W. C. Trevelyan, Esq. rious Letters extracted from a Volume in the handwriting of Robert Hegge. of Wallington. Miss Sharpe, New-An old Painting, a Sword, and some smaller Articles which had belonged to the late Rev. John Brande. castle. Feb. 1. The Cast of a Seal which is appended to a Confirmation by Adam (de Warthwic) Prior, of St. Mary's, Carlisle, of the Grant made by John (Halton), Bishop of Carlisle, of the Rectory of Broomfield, in

Donations.

Cumberland, to the Abbey of St. Mary's, York, in 1303. On one side appears the Seal of the Monastery, and on the back of it, probably the private

Seal of the Prior, which is evidently a well-sculptured Antique, with a more modern Inscription round it, " Sigillum Fris. I. Gton," Sigillum Fratris Johannis Gton? with two Coats of Arms. The Cast was accompanied by some Account of the

Parish of Broomfield.

Reasons for not pulling down Clifford's Tower in making the proposed Enlargement of York Castle, 8vo., York, 1825, by George Strickland, Esq. A Bronze Medal of Philip V. of Spain; Ditto of Henry of France, 1627; 3 Roman Silver Denarii; a Durham Penny of Henry VIII.; 33 Tradesmens' Tokens, old set. Copy of the Perpetuity granted to the Master and Brethren of King James's Hospital, in Gateshead. Award about Bensham, 21st Oct., 3. James I. Papers, Riddell and the Burgesses of Gateshead. Counterpart Lease of the Coal-mines belonging Gateshead Hospital (St. James), 29th Sept. 1684. Five Documents about the Corporation of Gateshead, principally as to the Freemen of that place.

A Collection of Papers and Letters which belonged to Dr. Thomlinson.

A View of St. Margaret's Porch, York, drawn and April 5. engraved by John Brown, of York, Feb. 5, 1818. Collection of English Words, by John Ray, 8vo. London. 1674.

A Pitcher and Sandals discovered in digging the August 2. Foundations for Carlisle Gaol.

> An Essay on the earliest Species of Idolatry, 4to. London.

> Objects of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 8vo. 1825. Laws and Regulations of the same Society, 8vo. 1826. Annual Report of the Council of the same, 8vo. 1826.

Sammes' Britannia Illustrata, fol. Lond. 1676.

Sept. 6. A Collection of Danish Ballads of the middle Ages, from A. S. Vedels and P. Syvs, printed copy and from MS. Collections; a new Edition, published by Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbel, Copenhagen, 7 vols. in 6, 1812.

> Krahumal; sive Epicedium Ragnaris Lodbroci Regis Daniæ, 8vo. Copenhagen, 1826, fine paper. Transactions of the Society of Antient Northern Inscriptions at Copenhagen for 1825, 4 Reports, 8vo. Rules and Regulations and Duties of the Members and Officers of the same Society.

Donors.

W. C. Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington.

Robt. Surtees, Esq. Mainsforth.

Miss Hornby.

Rev. Wm. Turner, Mr. C. Hodgson, of Carlisle.

Jas. Christie, Esq.

The Society. Rev. Wm. Turner.

W. C. Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington.

Professor Rafn, of Copenhagen.

Date.	Donations.	Donore.
	Six Sketches of antient Instruments found in Quarry-	
	ing Stone on the South side of Roseberry Topping, in May, 1826.	Mr. Hixon, Solicitor, Stockton.
	Nine antique Chairs for the Society's Room.	Rev. N. J. Hollings- worth.
October 4.	A curious Sword.	Mrs. Crawford.
Dec. 6.	Disquisitions upon the painted Greek Vases and their probable Connections with the Shows of the Eleusinian and other Mysteries, 4to. London, 1825.	Jas. Christie, Esq.
	Alphabet of Runic Characters.	W.C. Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington.
	Some curious Reliques of antient Shoes (supposed Roman) found near Whitfield.	Rev. A. Hedley.
	Berattelse om ett i motala strom traffadt Fynd; 12mo., Stockholm, 1818. Numismata orientalia aere expressa, brevique explanatione enodata, opere et studio Jonae Hallenberg. Regni Sueciae Historiographi, 8vo. Upsaliæ, 1822. Disquisitio de Nominibus in Lingua Suio-gothica, Lucis et Visus Cultusque Solaris in eadem Lingua Vestigiis, auctore Jonae Hallenberg, 2 parts, 8vo. Stockholmiæ, 1816.	A. B. Seton, Esq.
	Some of the Roman Coins found in May last, near	voton, zaq.
	Brampton, with an Account of the Discovery.	Mr. Wm. Hutton.
	A Jet amulet.	LieutCol. Coulson.
1827. January 3.	Collectio nova Numorum Cuficorum, seu Arabicorum veterum, a Jacobo Georgio Christiano Adler, Hafniæ, MDCCXCII.	W.C. Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington.
-	One Gold Greek Coin; 7 Greek Silver Coins; 8 Greek Brass Coins; 1 Roman Silver Coin; 6 Roman third Brass Coins; 22 Egyptian Brass Coins; 1 English Gold Coin; 4 Silver English Coins; 1 Silver Coin of the United States; 4 Brass French Coins.	John Smart, Esq. Trewhitt.
Feb. 7.	Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, 4 vols. 4to. (private print).	His Grace the Duke of Buckingham.
	Archæologia, Vol. XX. Part 2, and Vol. XXI. Part I., and Remainder of the Plates of the Bayeux Tapestry.	The Society of Antiquaries of London.
	Speech of Mr John Fenwick on a new Place of Sepulture at Newcastle, 8vo. 1826.	Mr. John Fenwick.
	An Andreas Ferreira Sword.	The Rev. N. J. Hollingsworth.
March 7.	Seven old Irish Coins of the English Monarchs. Three Irish Coins of King John, and a Dublin Penny of Edward I.	Thos. Walker, Esq. Shotley Bridge,
April 4.	Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for 1826, and Mr. Browne's Attempt to ascertain the Age of St. Margaret's Porch.	The Society.
	Fragment of a Copper Cast, with a Roman Catholic Inscription.	John Hodgson, Esq. Elswick.

Donors. Date. Donations. May 2. Vol. I. of the Tidsskript for Nordisk Ald-Kyndigled. or Translations of the Society for antient Northern The Society. Literature, 8vo. The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Mr. Hamper. Dugdale, edited by W. Hamper, Esq., 4to. Account of Proceedings in Newcastle and Gateshead in Celebration of the Coronation of Geo. III., and Queen Charlotte, and Geo. IV., 8vo. 1822. Report of the Trial, Watson v. Carr, 8vo. 1823. Stanzas on an intended New Line of Road, 8vo. 1825. Account of the Statue of King Charles II., 8vo. 1826. Account of the Death and Funeral of the Duke of Mr. Sykes (the Edi-York, 8vo. 1827. June 6. Lambeth Palace illustrated, London, 1806, 4to. Some Account of Redcliffe Church, Bristol, with twelve Prints, large paper, 4to. 1813. An Account of Illustrations of Roslyn Chapel, from the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 4to. Britton's Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, large paper, 4to. 1823. Britton's North Wiltshire, with Memoirs of the Author, 8vo. 1826. Remarks on the Monumental Bust of Shakespeare, at Stratford-on-Avon, 8vo. A Portrait of Shakespeare, 8vo. A Portrait of Mr. Nichols, Printer, 4to. Plan of Newcastle and Gateshead. The original Drawing, by J. Bond, of St. Nicholas' Church, for the "Beauties of England and Wales." Engraved View of an antient Temple, at Avebury, Wiltshire. Two Engravings of the Minster Church, at Beverley. John Britton, Esq. Gothic Ornaments in the Cathedral Church of York, by Joseph Halfpenny, 4to. 1798. E. Swinburne, Esq. An Essay on the Mysteries of Eleusis, by Mr. Ouvaroff, translated by Price, with Observations, by J. Christie. J. Christie, Esq. The 2d Part of Vol. XXI. of the Archæologia. The Society of Antiquaries, London. Museum Cuficrum Borgianum Veletris illustravit Jacobus Georgius Christianus Adler, 4to. Romæ, 1782. Osservazioni di Ennino Quirio Visconti su due Mu-W.C.Trevelyan, Esq. saici antichi istoriati, Parma, 1788. Wallington. MS. Account of Monies issued from the Exchequer. July 4. A. D. 1639 and 1640, for his Majesty's Expedition into the North; also the Balance of Parliament's Accounts, A. D. 1641. Wm. Hamper, Esq. Sioborgs Samlingar; a Collection of Scandinavian Antiquities, illustrated with Lithographic Plates, 2 vols. A. B. Seton, Esq. Coin found at the Roman Station of Castlecary. Mr. Hedley. Marmor Norfolcience, 8vo: Mr. J. Bell.

Date.	Donations.	Donors.
August 1.	A brief Historical Discourse of the Origin and Growth of Heraldry, by Thos. Philipot, 12mo. Lond. 1672.	Mr. Edw. Peele.
	The Fisher's Call for 1827, 8vo. Newcastle.	Mr. Charnley.
	Drawings of the Aqueduct of the Simoes and Source of the Scamander, made for Mr. Carlisle's Publication of his Poems.	Mrs. Beilby.
Sept. 5.	Transactions and Reports of the Horticultural Society of Durham, Northumberland, and Newcastle upon Tyne. The Bronze Medal of the Society.	The Society.
	Petition for restoring the Scrivener's Company, Newcastle.	Mr. John Fenwick.
	An Impression of the Seal of Thomas Leonard—S. Thome Lenoreus.	Mr. Wm. Clarke.
October 3.	A few Words on the Rise and Progress of the so called Bible Society, containing a Poem by Thorlakson, 12mo. Copenhagen, 1815. Collection of Coins and Medals of Henrik Frost, deceased, sold in Copen- hagen, 12mo, 1827. Statuta Eleemosynariæ, sive Hospitalis, Sancti Johannis Baptistæ in Kirby- Ravensworth, York, 1786, 12mo. An Essay on the	war I s
	History of the antient German Architecture by Busching, 12mo.	W.C.Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington.
	The General Election Poll for Knights of the Shire to represent the County of Durham, 4to. 1790.	Mr. R. Thompson.
	A coloured Copy of the Plan of the Burial Ground at the Ballast Hills, Newcastle. Papers relating to the Murder of Joe Hedley, called Joe the Quilter, 4to.	Mr. John Bell.
	Transactions of the Antient Northern MS. Society of Copenhagen for 1825 to 1826, 8vo. Transactions of the Society for Antient Northern Inscriptions, Vol. II. p. 1, 8vo. 1827.	Professor Rafn, of Copenhagen.
Nov. 7.	Notices respecting the early History of the Town of Hull, by Mr. Frost, 4to.	The Author.
	Wood Model of a Stone found in digging a Grave in Chatton Church Yard, Northumberland.	Rev. Joseph Cooke, Newton.
	Four Silver Scotch and English Coins.	S. Donaldson, Esq. Cheswick.
Dec. 5. 1828.	Every Man his own Doctor, 8vo. Newc. 1827.	Mr. Wm. Henderson, the Author.
Jan. 2.	The Model of a Stone Coffin found in Chatton Church Yard in 1814.	The Rev. Joseph Cooke, Newton.
	MS. Copies of Hegge's Legend of St. Cuthbert, and the Antiquities of Durham Cathedral. (They differ from the printed Copies.)	John Hodgson, Esq. Elswick.
	Memoirs of his own Life, by Sir James Melville, of Halhill. Edinburgh, 1827, 4to. Miscellaneous Papers, Part I. 4to.	The Committee of the Bahnatyne Club.

Donations.

Early metrical Tales, including the History of Sir Egeir, Sir Gryme, and Sir Gray Steill. Edinburgh 1825, 8vo.

A Book of Accounts of Sydney College, Cambridge, for 1687, 8vo. A Silver Penny of Geo. IV., 1824. An Impression of the Seal of King James's Hospipital, in white Wax.

The Antiquities of the Abbey at Durham, 12mo. 1767.

Three Groats of David II. of Scotland; two Silver Spanish Coins; and two English Silver Coins.

The Virtuoso's Companion, 4 vols. 8vo. Young's Catalogue of the Bonaparte Medals and Coins, with Prices affixed.

Two hundred and ten Copies of the Engraving of the Tomb of Philippa, Queen of Eric Pomeranus, King of Denmark.

Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth, Vol. I.

Impression of the Seal Ring, mentioned in page 45, Vol. I. of Brand's History of Newcastle, as having been dropped over Tyne Bridge in 1559, and recovered by cutting up a Salmon taken shortly afterwards.

A Book containing—Proceedings on the Part of Henry Errington, of Sandoe, in the County of Northumberland, Esq. relative to Hexham Bridge, from 1777 to 1789, MS.

A Book containing—The Charter of the Trinity House of Depford Strand, London; and also the Charter of the Trinity House at Kingston-upon-Hull, granted the 13th Charles II., MS.

A Book containing—1. Newcastle's first Charter, and other Charters, with the Heads of a Charge exhibited by Ralph Gardener against the Mayor and Burgesses, 1633.—2. The Charter of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle, 1st September, 1st Edward VI.—3. The Draper's Ordinary, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 29th Sept. 1652.—4. The Charter of the Trinity House, Newcastle, 21st October, 16th Charles II.—5. Case and Opinion respecting the Hospital of the Holy Jesus in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 30th August, 1726.—6. The Charter of King James ye 1st, to the Master Brethern of the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin in Newcastle, with an Opinion thereon, 29th Aug. 1726.—7. The Incorporation of ye Hospital of ye Holy Jesus, &c. in Newcastle, 26th March, 35th Charles II.—8. Rules for the Management of the Hospital of the Holy Jesus, 3d September, 1717.—9. Statutes for the better

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David Laing, jun. Esq. Edinburgh.

Mr. John Bell. Mr. Wm. Clarke. Robert Wilkie, Esq. Ladythorn.

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governing of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, in Newcastle, 24th Sept. 1722.—10. The Charter of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen.—11. The last Will and Testament of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, 17th Sept. 1721.—12. The Bishop of London's Donation of ye Patronage of Cleasby, in Yorkshire, to the Dean and Chapter of Rippon, 10th April, 1723.—13. Rules for the Government of the Charity School at Cleasby, in the County of York.—14. A Copy of the Proxy sent to the Bishop of London at his Visitation, June ye 16th, 1724.—15. Copy of the Grant or Charter to the Clergymen's Sons within ye Diocesse of Chester, 9th April, 1702.—16. Methods and Rules for Charity Schools, MS.

- A Book containing—An Abstract of several Charters and Grants to the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on eight leaves; and a Translation of the Charter granted in the 42d of Queen Elizabeth, on eighteen leaves; and a Translation of the Charter granted in the 2d of King James, &c., on twelve leaves: and an Abstract of Newcastle Charter, on one leaf; and a Copy of the Scrivener's Ordinary of the 13th Sept., 1675, on three leaves; and the Petition of 15 Free Burgesses to re-establish the Company of Scriveners in Newcastle, dated 3d October, 1827, on three leaves; and the Petitition of Ralph Gardener, of Northumberland, against the Corporation of Newcastle, 5th October, 1658, on three leaves; and the Minutes of Proceedings respecting repairing the Chancell of St. Nicholas' Church, on eleven leaves; and a Case and Opinions on St. Nicholas' Charity School, on three leaves; and Copy of a Case and Opinion relative to the Corporation of Newcastle laying Rates on the Inhabitants, October, 1796, on five leaves.
- A Book containing—Rates for the County of Durham, 1667, MS.
- A Book containing the following Papers, lettered Gateshead—1. A Copy of the Perpetuity granted to the Master and Brethren of the Hospital (King James) in Gateshead.—2. Counterpart of the Lease to Cuthbert Wightman and John Emmerson for seven years of Colliery belonging to said Hospital.—3. Award about Bensham in Riddel and the Burgesses, 21st Oct. 3 Jac. I.—4. Charter of Corporation of Merchants of Gateshead, A. D. 1661.—5. Bill in Exchequer against Corporation of Gateshead.—6. Bishop against the Unfreemen of Gateshead.—7. Paper relative to the Gateshead Corporation.—8. Copy of Dr. Pickering's Gift of £300. for perpetual

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Maintenance of free School in Gateshead.—9. Paper relating to the Corporation of Gateshead.

N. B. The two last papers came from Mr. Surtees, of Mainsforth, February 1st, 1826, for which see this date.

A Set of Papers, printed and MSS., relating to the Coal Trade in the year 1739, when the Trades in London petitioned.

Etymons of English Words, by the late John Thompson, Esq. 4to. Edinburgh, 1826.

Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of Antiquaries, by Wm. Smellie, 2 Parts, 4to.

Feb. 6. A Reprint of a scarce Tract, intituled the Scots March from Berwick to Newcastle, 1644.

Three Prints of five Medals struck in the Netherlands.

Grey's Chorographia of Newcastle, 4to. Lond. 1649. The Buke of the Howlat, by Holland, 4to. 1823, new edition, dedicated to the Bannatyne Club. De Danorum Rebus Gestis, Secul. III. and IV. 4to. Hauniæ, 1815.

Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III.

4to. London, 1768. Epistola ad V. Cl. Joannem
Masson de Nummo Abgari Regis, 4to. Oxoniæ, 1736.

Pettingal on the Latin Inscription on a Copper Table
discovered near Heraclea, 1732, Lond. 4to. 1760
Ayloffe's Description of an ancient Picture at Windsor, 4to. London, 1773. The Happy Village, a
Poem, by Wallis, South Shields, 4to. 1802. Description of the Paintings at Cowdray, 4to. Brereton's Observations on Paintings in the Window of
Brereton Church, 4to. Pegge on Chariots of the
Ancient Britons, 4to. Stukeley's Account of a
large Silver Plate found in Derbyshire, 1729, 4to.

1736. Catalogue of the Coins of Canute, 4to.
London, 1777.

An Iron Plate, found in digging Foundations for a Paper Mill at Shotley Grove, Durham.

Various Bills and Papers relating to the Murder of Joe the Quilter; Green's Balloon Ascent; Visit of the Duke of Wellington to Newcastle; Duke of York's Death, &c.

March 5. Two Impressions of Seals. Speech of Francis, Bishop of Rochester, at the Bar of the House of Lords, 11th May, 1723, folio. Speech of Mr. Kelly, ditto, 2d May, 1723, 12mo. His Majesty's Speech, 13th Sept. 1660, folio.

Copies of the first and second Editions of his Litho-

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Robert Surtees, Esq. Mainsforth.

Mr. Annandale.

Mr. Sykes, Newcastle.

Mr. John Bell.

Date.	Donations.	Donors.
	graphic Print of the Sections of the various Airs and Gases in Coal Mines, 4to.	Mr. William Wood, Newcastle.
April 1.	Reprint of a Poem, called the Tynemouth Bathers.	Mr. Sykes.
	Impression of a Seal, and Copy of Mr. John Stock's Will and Codicils, 8vo.	Mr. John Bell.
May 7.	An antient British Urn found in an old Burial Place (tumulus) in planting part of his property near Jesmond, Northumberland.	R. Blackbird, Esq.
	Annual Report for 1827.	The Yorkshire Philosophical Society.
	A Catalogue of the Books in the Medical Library at the Infirmary, Newcastle upon Tyne, and a View of the Infirmary.	Mr. Church.
	An Account of Monies for King Charles' Expeditions into the North, A. D. 1639—1640. A military Sketch of Berwick in the Time of King Charles I., shewing the position of the Army. An Agreement, 30th Henry VI., between Wm. Hylyn, Alderman of London, and Robert Bullock, of Berwyk, Mer-	Wm Homes For
	chant, for the purchase of 4 lasts of Salmon.	Wm. Hamper, Esq. Birmingham.
	A Volume of his Poems, 8vo. Newcastle, 1826.	Mr. Robert Gilchrist.
June 4.	The 4th Annual Report of the Lit. and Phil. Society of Hull.	J. Crosse, Esq. Hull.
July 2.	The Bannatyne Miscellany, 4to. Vol. I. Part II.	The Bannatyne Club.
	Certain Observations touching the Estate of the Commonwealth, composed principally for the benefit of the Gentry of the County of Durham, 4to. Durham, 1822.	The Rev. Jas. Raine, Durham.
	Collection de Monnaies et Médailles de feu Hans Henrik Frost, 2 parts, 8vo. 1827.	W. C. Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington.
	Proceedings of the Pitt Club for 1821, 22, and 1823, and other Pieces, 8vo. Newcastle.	Mr. John Bell.
Sept. 3.	The Cossenage of Collieries, 8vo. 1591.	W. C. Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington.
	Archæologia, Vol. XXII. Part I. Vetusta Monumenta, Plates 47-50.	The Society of Antiquaries, London.
	Unpublished Remains of Mr. Geo. Pickering and Mr. Luke Long. Newcastle, 1828, 8vo.	Mr. Sykes.
	Three small Brass Roman Coins found at Brampton, in Cumberland.	Mr. Campbell, New-castle.
October 1.	Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, Paris, 84 tomes, 4to.	Rev. Geo. Townsend.
	Twenty English Silver Coins (Crowns, &c.) wanting in the Society's Collection.	Rev. R. H. Williamson, Newcastle.
	A Sicilian Copper Coin.	John Waldie, Esq.
	Names of Nobility, &c. who contributed to the Defence	

Date.	Donations.	Donors.
	of this Country at the Spanish Invasion, London, 4to. 1798. The Cambridge Election, a new Ballad,	M. L. Du
	London, folio, 1729. And other Papers.	Mr. John Bell.
Nov. 5.	Transactions, Vol. II. and Vol. III., Part I.	The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Dec. 3.	Ditto, Vol. I.	The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
	Report of the Society of Antient Inscriptions at Copenhagen.	The Society.
	Impression of a Seal found in 1722 at Mill Hill, near Halifax,—see Watson's History of Halifax, p. 246, folio, iv. Copies of two Letters from Lord Dacre relating to the Election of a Prioress in the Nunnery of St. Bartholomew, in Newcastle.	W. C. Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington.
	A short Description of the Town and Borough of Stockton, 1825, 12mo.	Mr. John Bell.
	Plans of Charity Property at Darlington.	R. Botcherby, Esq.
1829. Jan. 7.	A Collection of Articles taken from a Tomb near Arica, with a Memoir.	Jos. H. Fryer, Esq.
	Seventeen Parcels of Cufic Coins found at Bolgari, on the River Kama, in Siberia, with the Inscriptions upon them as given by Professor Foulk, at Casan, from A. 710 to 817. One Silver Roman, and 23 Roman Greek Brass.	J. Williamson, Esq. Newcastle.
	Görangson's Bautil, or the Runic Stores of the Kingdoms of Svea and Götha, set up from the year of the World 2000 to the year of Christ 1000.	A. B. Seton, Esq.
	Antiquities relating to the Idol Worship of the Obotri- ten from the Temple of Rhetia of the Tollenger Sea. Engravings, Berlin, 1771.	James Christie, Esq. London.
	Four Pieces of Roman Antiquities discovered at Carvoran, in the Manor of Blenkinsopp.	LieutCol. Coulson.
	Impressions in Silver of two Tradesmen's Farthing Tokens, struck in Newcastle and Gateshead.	Mr. J. Fenwick.
	A MS. Plan of Newcastle, made by the late Mr. Isaac Thompson for the Duke of Cumberland. The Plans of the Estates of Beaufront, Close-house, the Hermitage, and Elswick, in 1795. Plan and Section of a proposed Turnpike Road from Newcastle to Blaydon.	John Hodgson, Esq. Elswick.
		Mr. Church.
	Engraving of the Infirmary, Newcastle. The Life of Sir Michael Forster, Knt., London, 1811, 8vo. The Wandering Knight of Dunstanborough Castle, a Northumberland Legend; Sunderland,	
	1820, 4to.	Mr. John Bell.
	Several Greek Silver, &c., Coins.	Dixon Dixon, Esq.
	Biographical Atlas and Description, by Mr. Bruce.	The Author.

Date.	Donations.	Donors.
Feb. 4.	A circumstantial Account of the Preparations for the Coronation of King Charles II., from a MS. of Sir Edward Waller, London, 8vo. 1820. MS. folio, entitled "The Archaeologia of the Literary and Zoological and Antiquarian Society, instituted 23d August, 1820," Vol. I.	Mr. Fordyce, New-castle.
	Impression of an antient Medal found at the Ballas t Hills, Newcastle. Travels of the Imagination, a true Journey from Newcastle to London in a Stage Coach, Newcastle, 1828, 8vo.	Mr. John Bell.
	Fifty Etchings by Lawrence, from the Elgin Marbles, oblong folio, London, 1818.	Dixon Dixon, Esq.
	Paleographia Critica, auctore Ulrico Friderico Kopp, 2 vol. 4to. Manhemii, 1817.	W. C. Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington.
	Illingworth's Account of the Parish of Scampton, and the Roman Antiquities discovered there, 4to. Lond. 1810.	C. Cookson, Esq.
July 1.	The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, exemplified by Illustrations, &c., with a descriptive Account of the House and Galleries of John Soane, Esq. 4to. by John Britton.	John Britton, Esq.
	A Lapis Ollaris Urn, a Stone Hatchet, and another Vessel found in Orkney.	A. M. de Cardonnell Lawson, Esq.
	An arranged Catalogue of the Library of the Mechanics' Institute, Newcastle.	The Institute.
Sept. 2.	Archaeologia, Vol. XXII. Part 2. Vetusta Monumenta, Plates 51 to 56, Vol. V.	The Society of Antiquaries, London.
	Via Appia illustrata ab Urbe Roma ad Capuam, 12 plates, royal folio. A Book printed at Halle in 4to. 1771, containing a Treatise of the Knowledge the Greeks and Romans had of the North of Europe,	W.C. L. D
	and several other Tracts on the early Northern History.	W. C. Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington.
	Papers relating to the Musical Festival held in New- castle in 1824.	Mr. Adamson.
	A Vase found lately in a Vault under the Road within the West Walls of the City of Carlisle.	Mr. C. Hodgson, Carlisle.
	An antient Charter, printed at Venice in 1815. Brief of the Petitioner against the Election of Lord Ossulston. Pater Foerson, or Collection of Danish Provincial Words, and on the Manners, Customs, Qualities, and Superstitions of the common People in Ribe in Jutland, edited by C. Molbeck, Copenhagen, 1820, 12mo. Lithographic Print of the Font in	
	Hartburn Church, from a Drawing by Miss Emma Trevelyan.	W. C. Trevelyan, Esq. Wallington.
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